

THE EVOLUTION OF MONASTIC LITURGY IN NORTHERN BRITAIN
BEFORE 1153

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I hereby declare that the thesis, "The Evolution of Monastic Liturgy in Northern Britain before 1153," has been composed by me, and that the work is my own.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis proposes that Northumbrian monastic liturgy evolved in ways distinct from those of the rest of Britain, and traces its development through three markedly contrasting periods of its history. The first chapter is concerned with the origins of monastic life in Northumbria, up to the death of the Venerable Bede in 735. Taking as source material the historical works of Bede and other contemporary lives of the saints, specific references to liturgy and chant are analysed, with the purpose of determining the importance of liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria, the type and provenance of the chants used, and the methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation. It becomes apparent from this analysis that by the early eighth century, Northumbrian monastic liturgy had reached a degree of sophistication unsurpassed even by Canterbury.

The second chapter shows, mainly by evidence from liturgical books, how a small remnant of monastic life survived the ravages of the Viking raids, until the return of relative stability after the Norman Conquest. The persistence of cults of Northumbrian saints throughout Britain is also documented, using evidence from liturgical kalendars.

The revival of monastic life after the Conquest is the subject of the third chapter, with emphasis on how the new or revived monasteries compiled their liturgical books. Strands of influence on the Durham Missal are investigated, and a little-known Scottish Tironensian missal is used as evidence of the growing importance of the reformed Benedictine orders in the north of Britain at the beginning of the twelfth century, largely due to the encouragement of David, Earl of Northumbria, who was later King David I of Scotland. Finally, complete transcriptions are presented of three surviving Rhymed Offices in honour of seventh-century Northumbrian saints: Cuthbert, Oswald and Ebba.

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INTRODUCTION

In choosing the subject matter for this dissertation, it was my intention to demonstrate that the conditions which led to the establishment of Benedictine monasticism in Northern Britain were very different from those which prevailed in the south of England. In the north, frequent contacts with Continental monasteries, and especially with Rome, meant that a lively oral chant tradition was flourishing in Northumbria by the end of the seventh century; a tradition which was related to, but distinct from, that of Canterbury.

I have chosen largely to ignore the Celtic influence on the Northumbrian Church, not because it was unimportant- there were indeed close links between Irish and Northumbrian monasteries, particularly between Iona and Lindisfarne- but because this link has often been over-emphasised by past scholars, and certainly in the popular imagination. This exaggeration has been particularly noticeable with reference to Northumbrian scribal and artistic skills, to the extent that Northumbrian manuscripts were wrongly attributed to Irish scribes, or were thought to depend on Irish exemplars, when in fact the reverse may be nearer the truth. Similarly, there is a received view that the predominant feature of the seventh-century Church in Northern Britain was conflict between the "Irish" party led by Colman of Lindisfarne, and the Romanising, Anglicising influence epitomised by Wilfrid. But this is to forget that most of the great figures of seventh-century Northumbria- Wilfrid, Bede and Benedict Biscop, for example- were native Northumbrians, who developed a distinctive brand of monasticism from Roman, Gallican and Celtic models, and kept in close contact with musical and liturgical advances at Rome, at a time when the Church in Kent may have been undergoing a period of relative stagnation.

The subject matter naturally falls into three chronological periods, the first being a time of rapid growth and consolidation from the establishment of Lindisfarne in 635 until the death of the Venerable Bede a century later. The second period is marked initially by a certain degree of stagnation and laxity in the later eighth century, then by a rapid descent into chaos and despair in the wake

of the first Danish raids in 793, to which the exposed and unprotected monasteries of the north-east coast were particularly vulnerable. I intend to show that, despite the appalling toll of destruction wreaked upon the Northumbrian Church during this period, certain vital elements of the monastic tradition were preserved from its glorious past, not least of which was the daily singing of the Divine Office. Furthermore, the cult of St Cuthbert was maintained unbroken throughout this period, and the shrine attracted not only pilgrims in search of miracles, but also kings bearing gifts, and the incorrupt body of the saint inspired the composition of elaborate liturgy in his honour, most notably a rhymed office which was the first of its kind for an insular saint, and one of the earliest of all rhymed offices.

The third period mirrors the first in its optimism and rapid rate of growth. Despite the fact that there had been no northern equivalent of the tenth-century monastic revival associated with Æthelwold and Dunstan in the south, virtually all the old monastic sites in Northern Britain were rapidly revived as Benedictine monasteries, and supplemented by new foundations such as Dunfermline and St Mary's, York. I intend to show that the inspiration for this monastic revival came not only from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, but also from an unexpected quarter, that of the Scottish monarchy. Under the saintly Queen Margaret and her son David (first in his capacity as Earl of Northumbria, and later as King David I of Scotland), the lands north of the Humber enjoyed a spiritual zeal and a temporal prosperity which have never been surpassed.

Finally, I will demonstrate that, in addition to the visible impact of Canterbury, there was a more hidden and indirect line of liturgical influence which emanated from Cluny, and was transmitted by the Order of Tiron. By this means, Cluniac liturgy achieved a wide diffusion in Scotland before any of the other new orders, including the Cluniacs themselves, had established a foothold in the Scottish Church.

The date of 1153 has been chosen as the limit of the present study, as it marks the death of King David I of Scotland, and is also the date of the first source to contain the full monastic Offices of St

Cuthbert and St Oswald, which rank among the finest achievements of Northumbrian monasticism.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORTHUMBRIAN CHANT TRADITION

In order to trace the development of musical and liturgical life in Northumbria up to the death of Bede, three questions must be answered:

1. How important an element was liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria?
2. Of what type and provenance were the chants used in the early Northumbrian church?
3. What were the principal methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation?

In attempting to answer these questions, the method adopted will be to take a series of extracts from contemporary sources and assess how much each extract reveals in relation to each of the above questions. In certain cases one or more of the questions may be irrelevant or inappropriate, but by an accumulative process an overall impression of the Northumbrian chant tradition should begin to emerge.¹

The first extract, taken from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, describes Saint Augustine's entry into Canterbury in 596:

[Extract 1]

It is related that as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of the great King our Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus in ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia.*²

¹Several of the passages from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* which are concerned with church music were noticed by Peter Wagner in chapter 11 of *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, where he used them to further his argument for an "authentic Antiphoner" of Gregory. Indeed, he surmised that such a book must have been sent over with Augustine's original mission.

²Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book i, Chapter 25 (in subsequent references abbreviated as follows: Bede, *HE* i, 25). The edition from which both Latin and English quotations are taken is *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, edited by B. Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes civitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc lætaniem consona voce modularentur: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in

This passage describes the missionary clerics virtually in terms of an army going forth to battle, carrying the cross as their standard, and using the litany as a form of battle-song. The chant would thus have fulfilled the dual function of boosting the morale of the singers and impressing the heathen onlookers. In addition, the chant seems to have acted as an aural symbol of Christianity, in the same way as the processional cross and panel-painting of Christ acted as visual symbols of the faith.

The task of determining the nature and provenance of the chant is greatly facilitated in this case by the quotation of the text (presumably because of its aptness to the situation), a practice otherwise rare in Bede's writings. Given that Augustine and his companions had been sent to Britain from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great, it is perhaps surprising to find that the chant *Deprecamur te* did not form part of the Roman Rite at the date in question. Despite being termed *hanc lætaniam* by Bede, it is actually a processional antiphon for use on the three days before Ascension Day, known as "Rogation Days". Their observation, first introduced by Bishop Mamertus of Vienne (c.470), was extended to all of Frankish Gaul by the Council of Orleans (511), but did not reach Rome until about the year 800, during the pontificate of Leo III.³ Augustine's use of a Gallican chant is readily explained by the fact that he had just passed through Gaul prior to landing in Kent. As for his authority to depart from the Roman Rite, this was supplied (albeit retrospectively) by Pope Gregory, in reply to a question on the subject from Augustine. The dialogue is reported in *Historia Ecclesiastica* as follows:

[Extract 2]

Augustine's second question: Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? and is there one form of Mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?

Pope Gregory answered: My brother, you know the customs of the Roman Church in which, of course, you were brought up. But it is my wish that if you have found any customs in the

omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia.'

³On the origin of Rogation Days and Litanies, see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origins and Evolution* (London, 1923), 287-8.

Roman or the Gaulish church or any other church which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should make a careful selection of them and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which is still new in the faith, what you have been able to gather from other churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things. Therefore choose from every individual Church whatever things are devout, religious, and right. And when you have collected them as it were into one pot, put them on the English table for their use.⁴

The reported singing of the antiphon *Deprecamur te* does not, however, provide conclusive proof that Augustine followed Gregory's advice and borrowed Gallican liturgical chants and practices. It must be borne in mind that such details may be embellishments introduced into the story by Bede, writing more than a century after the events concerned took place. Such a possibility does not necessarily invalidate the conclusions which may be drawn from these details; it does mean that they may be more relevant to Jarrow at the time of Bede than to Kent at the time of Augustine.

Concerning the transmission of chant, two points should be noted about the performance of *Deprecamur te* as described by Bede. Firstly, *consona voce modularentur* implies that it was sung in unison by all (or at least several) of those present, thus excluding the possibility of improvisation (for which solo performance by a cantor would normally be necessary), and suggesting that it must have had a fixed melody which was familiar to the singers. Secondly, if the entry into Canterbury is regarded as a quasi-liturgical procession, the processional antiphon *Deprecamur te* can be said to have retained something of its proper liturgical context.

⁴Bede, *HE* i, 27.

II Interrogatio Augustini: Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

Respondit Gregorius papa: Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet ut, sive in Romana sive in Galliarum seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt elige, et hæc quasi in vasculo collecta, apud Anglorum mensam in consuetudine depone.

Before the conversion of the king of Kent allowed widespread public ministry, the missionary clerics evidently continued their own liturgical life in the Romano-British church of Saint Martin:

[Extract 3]

In this church they first began to meet to chant the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach, and to baptize.⁵

Although from a modern point of view this order of activities might appear to be in reverse order of importance, the position of *psallere* at the head of the list is unlikely to be arbitrary; a Benedictine monk such as Bede who sang the psalms daily throughout his life would naturally regard psalmody as pre-eminent amongst liturgical activities. Apart from revealing Bede's own preferences, there is no reason why this order of activities should not also reflect the priorities of Augustine and his companions. Although they cannot be shown to have observed the Rule of St Benedict, they were undoubtedly monks; this is made clear by Pope Gregory's advice to Augustine concerning the manner in which a bishop should live together with his clergy:

[Extract 4]

But because you, brother, are conversant with monastic rules, and ought not to live apart from your clergy in the English church, which, by the guidance of God, has lately been converted to the faith, you ought to institute that manner of life which our fathers followed in the earliest beginnings of the Church.⁶

Gregory goes on to list the duties of Augustine's clergy:

[Extract 5]

...they must be kept under ecclesiastical rule, living a moral life and attending to the chanting of the psalms and, under

⁵Bede, *HE* i, 26.

Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse prædiximus, orare consuevit. In hac ergo et ipsi primo convenire psallere orare missas facere prædicare et baptizare coeperunt, donec rege ad fidem converso maiorem prædicandi per omnia et ecclesias fabricandi vel restaurandi licentiam acciperent.

⁶Bede, *HE* i, 27.

Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis in ecclesia Anglorum, quæ auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conversationem instituere, quæ initio nascentis ecclesiæ fuit patribus nostris.

God's guidance, keeping their heart, their tongue, and their body from all things unlawful.⁷

It is clear that in this context *canendis psalmis* must refer to the singing of the Divine Office. The precise nature of the Offices used at Canterbury cannot be determined, but it seems reasonable to assume that they were based on a Roman, rather than Benedictine, model. This assumption would exclude the use of hymns and lections which, though prescribed in the sixth-century Rule of Saint Benedict, were not introduced into the Roman Office until the seventh and twelfth centuries respectively. Consequently, the Offices sung in Saint Martin's church by Augustine and his companions would probably have consisted solely of psalms, antiphons and responsories with psalmodic texts, and prayers, all of which could be sufficiently described by the terms *psallere* and *orare*. Clearly such Offices would have required no liturgical books other than the psalter, which would in any case have been memorized by most monks of the period.

The phrase *missas facere* is more problematic. It fails to reveal whether or not the Masses were sung, how often they were celebrated, or by whom. If it could simply be assumed that Augustine's practice followed that of Rome at the end of the sixth century, the implication would be that the Masses were always sung, that they were not necessarily a daily occurrence, and that the normal celebrant was the bishop, assisted by his presbyters, deacons and lesser ministers. If on the other hand it is admitted that Augustine may have adopted other Gallican customs along with the Rogation procession, a form of *missa privata* becomes a possibility, since the Council of Vaison in 529 distinguished between "Morning Masses" and the "Public Mass."⁸ The likelihood that Augustine, in the early stages of his mission, was able to duplicate the elaborate eucharistic liturgy of Rome seems rather doubtful, especially considering the uncertainty in such matters revealed by his second question to Pope Gregory (quoted above), and the fact that he may

⁷Bede, *HE* i, 27.

Sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus vivant et canendis psalmis invigilent, et ab omnibus illicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conservent.

⁸The origin of the Low Mass is explored by Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945), p. 593.

not yet have been consecrated bishop. Furthermore, it seems likely that until the success of the mission was guaranteed by the king's conversion, the equipment necessary for the celebration of Mass and adornment of churches would have been confined to the bare essentials. This assertion is supported by the following extract, which describes the reinforcements, both in personnel and equipment, sent by Pope Gregory in 601:

[Extract 6]

Since Bishop Augustine had advised him that the harvest was great and the workers were few, Pope Gregory sent more colleagues and ministers of the word together with his messengers. First and foremost among these were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus; and he sent with them all such things as were generally necessary for the worship and ministry of the Church, such as sacred vessels, altar cloths and church ornaments, vestments for priests and clerics, relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, and very many manuscripts.⁹

Another passage of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* yields further evidence of the importance attached to church music by Augustine's mission, and also reinforces the view that the Mass had not yet achieved the position of supreme liturgical importance which it was to assume in the later Middle Ages. When in 625 the pagan king Edwin of Northumbria sought to marry the Christian princess Ethelburga of Kent, Paulinus (one of the clerics sent by Pope Gregory in 601) was consecrated bishop and sent with Ethelburga to Northumberland. He was to act as chaplain to the princess, with the added intention of converting the king of Northumbria and his people. By 627/8, Edwin had been baptized, and churches built at York and Lincoln. Following Edwin's death in battle in 633, Paulinus, having completed his immediate task, retired to Kent and spent his remaining years as bishop of Rochester. However, the Northumbrian church was not left entirely destitute:

⁹Bede, *HE* i, 29.

Præterea idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo, quia suggesserat ei multam quidem sibi esse messem sed operarios paucos, misit cum præfatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac verbi ministros, in quibus primi et præcipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus; et per eos generaliter universa, quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum et sacerdotalia vel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices plurimos.

[Extract 7]

Now Paulinus had left in the church at York a certain James, a deacon, a true churchman and a saintly man; he remained for a long time in the church and, by teaching and baptizing, rescued much prey from the ancient foe.

...He was very skilful in church music and when peace was restored to the kingdom and the number of believers grew, he also began to instruct many in ecclesiastical chant, after the manner of Rome and the Kentish people.¹⁰

This extract exhibits several noteworthy features. Firstly, it is significant that Paulinus deemed it appropriate to leave in his place one who, as a deacon, could not celebrate Mass. If he had regarded the Mass as an essential requirement of the embryonic churches of York and Lincoln, he could presumably have ordained James to the priesthood before his departure. But evidently the diaconal functions of teaching and baptizing were considered sufficient for the conversion of the heathen.¹¹ Secondly, whereas the primary emphasis may be on teaching and baptizing, church music is portrayed as a powerful means of consolidation after the initial period of evangelization. Furthermore, it would be mistaken to view James' skill as a singing-master as secondary to his other functions. It is quite likely that he represents a survival from the period when the principal role of the deacon was to act as chief cantor in the liturgy. It was none other than Pope Gregory the Great who, perhaps in an attempt to remedy certain abuses arising out of this conflation of roles, sought to separate the two functions, as testified by the Council of Rome in 595.¹² Before this date, it was quite common for the singing of the gradual in the Mass, as well as the proclamation of the gospel, to be undertaken exclusively by deacons. The date of

¹⁰Bede, *HE* ii, 20.

Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum, virum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum, qui multo exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens magnas antiquo hosti prædas docendo et baptizando eripuit; cuius nomine vicus, in quo maxime solebat habitare, iuxta Cataractam usque hodie cognominatur. Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in provincia et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiastice cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum multis coepit existere.

¹¹Queen Eanflæd (daughter of Ethelburga, to whom Paulinus had acted as chaplain when she went north to marry King Edwin of Northumbria) evidently obtained a priest from Kent to act as her private chaplain after the departure of Paulinus. See Bede, *HE* iii, 25.

¹²c.f. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 150.

James' ordination to the diaconate is unknown, but since he almost certainly accompanied Paulinus from Rome to Canterbury in 601, it is feasible that he was made deacon before the edicts of the Council of 595 took effect.

Concerning the nature and provenance of the chant taught by James, the extract reveals only that it was "*iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum*". Bede's use of the conjunction *sive* renders the phrase somewhat ambiguous, since it implies, either that the two expressions (*Romanorum* and *Cantuariorum*) amount to the same, or that he is undecided about them and leaves the choice to others.¹³ However, in the light of Bede's views on the close connection between Rome and ecclesiastical chant, it seems likely that he intended to imply identity between the customs of Rome and those of Canterbury. As to the type of chants taught by James, it may be surmised that, in the absence of Masses, the emphasis was on the various kinds of psalmodic chants used in the Roman Divine Office.

However, the most significant aspect of the above extract is James' role as singing-master, and its implications for the transmission of chant. He is the first of several specialists in church music (in this case designated *magister ecclesiastice cantionis*) to be described by Bede, and differs from later examples (such as Ædde, Maban and John the arch-cantor) in passing on the Roman chant tradition not to other designated cantors or to a monastic community, but to ordinary members of the laity. The absence of a monastic community must have had a severely limiting effect, firstly on the complexity of the chants which could be taught, and secondly on scribal activity, thus curtailing the possibility of adding to those liturgical books which had presumably been brought north from Canterbury by James and Paulinus. Therefore it again seems likely that the main form of musical activity would have been antiphonal or responsorial psalmody, of a type simple enough to be taught to non-specialists.

The next Northumbrian singing-master to be mentioned in *Historia Ecclesiastica* is Eddius Stephanus:

¹³On the use of *sive* as opposed to *vel*, see *Cassell's Latin Dictionary* (London, 1907), p. 794.

[Extract 8]

From that time also the knowledge of sacred music, which had hitherto been known only in Kent, began to be taught in all the English churches. With the exception of James already mentioned, the first singing-master in the Northumbrian churches was Ædde surnamed Stephen, who was invited from Kent by the most worthy Wilfrid, who was the first bishop of the English race to introduce the catholic way of life to the English churches.¹⁴

A further reference to Eddius is found in the work attributed to his authorship, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*. From this it is apparent that Wilfrid brought with him from Kent not one, but two cantors:

[Extract 9]

So he lived in honour, dear to all men, and, after fulfilling episcopal duties in various places, returned to his own land with the singers Ædde and Æona, and with masons and artisans of almost every kind, and there, by introducing the rule of St Benedict, he greatly improved the ordinances of the churches of God.¹⁵

The same source reports in Wilfrid's own words his most important achievements, as follows:

[Extract 10]

Did I not change and convert the whole Northumbrian race to the true Easter and to the tonsure in the form of a crown, in accordance with the practice of the Apostolic See, though their tonsure had been previously at the back of the head, from the top of the head downwards?

And did I not instruct them in accordance with the rite of the primitive Church to make use of two choirs singing with alternate voice, with reciprocal responsories and antiphons?

And did I not arrange the life of the monks in accordance with the rule of the holy father Benedict which none had previously introduced there?¹⁶

¹⁴Bede, *HE* iv, 2.

Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto Iacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis Æddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, invitatus de Cantia a reverentissimo viro Vilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent catholicum vivendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

¹⁵Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, chapter 14. The edition from which quotations are taken is *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).

Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus [cantatoribus] Ædde et Æonan et cæmentariis omnisque pæne artis institutoribus regionem suam rediens, cum regula sancti Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.

¹⁶Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, chapter 47.

In applying to these three passages the first of the questions which form the basis of this chapter ("How important an element was liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria?"), the implication in Extract 8 is that a knowledge of sacred music is one of the requirements of the Christian way of life. In Extract 9, improvements in the church are attributed primarily to the rule of St Benedict, but also indirectly to the singers Ædde and Æona, who, although grouped with masons and other craftsmen, seem to be the most important of this group by virtue of their position at the head of the list and the fact that they are individually named¹⁷. Extract 10 ranks instruction in singing alongside changes from Celtic to Roman practices¹⁸, and the introduction of the rule of St Benedict. The conclusion which may be drawn from all three extracts is that church music was a secondary element in the missionary process, in that it required a certain stability in the newly-converted community before instruction could take place, but that thereafter it became a sign of Christian orthodoxy and a means of ensuring liturgical uniformity with Rome, or the "early church". For this latter purpose, imposition of the Roman manner of saying Mass might to a later age have seemed the obvious method, but the sources are silent on the subject.

In relation to the second question ("Of what type and provenance were the chants used in the early Northumbrian

Ad verumque pascha et ad tonsuram in modum coronæ, quæ ante ea posteriore capitis parte e summo abrasa vertice, secundum apostolicæ sedis rationem totam Ultrahumbrensiū gentem permutando converterem?

Aut quomodo iuxta ritum primitivæ ecclesiæ assono vocis modulamine, binis adstantibus choris, persultare responsoriis antiphonisque reciprocis instruerem?

Vel quomodo vitam monachorum secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patris, quam nullus prior ibi invexit, constitueram?

¹⁷If Ædde the cantor is indeed identical with Eddius Stephanus, author of the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, the favoured position of the singers in this passage may be a reflection of his personal interests.

¹⁸The method of calculating Easter and the form of clerical tonsure were the main points of contention at the Council of Whitby (663/4), at which the proponents of Roman customs, led by Wilfrid, triumphed over their Celtic adversaries, represented by Colman, abbot of Lindisfarne. The proceedings of the Council are described at length in Bede, *HE* iii, 25.

church?"), the origins and subsequent travels of the people involved may be of relevance. Wilfrid was a native Northumbrian who from the age of fourteen was educated at the Celtic monastery of Lindisfarne. Having become dissatisfied with Celtic monasticism, he travelled to Kent with the intention of seeking suitable companions with whom he could journey to Rome. After a period of study in Rome under Boniface the archdeacon, Wilfrid returned to Northumbria to become abbot of the monastery of Ripon. By this time he must have encountered three different types of monasticism: the Celtic on Lindisfarne, the old Roman (or basilican) in Canterbury, and the Benedictine in either Italy or Gaul. The type favoured by Wilfrid was evidently the Benedictine, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the first to introduce the rule of St Benedict to the Northumbrian monasteries.¹⁹ It might therefore be concluded that the chant introduced by Wilfrid must have been of the type used by seventh-century Benedictine monks. But if this were true, why should Wilfrid have looked for suitable singing teachers in Kent, given that the rule of St Benedict seems not to have reached Kent at the date in question (c.666)? Moreover, neither Bede nor the author of *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid* gives any indication that Ædde or Æona were even monks, let alone Benedictine ones, and their names indicate that England, rather than Italy or Gaul, was their country of origin. The evidence suggests that the chant introduced to the northern churches by Wilfrid was neither Benedictine nor up-to-date Roman, but modelled directly on that of Canterbury, which is likely to have perpetuated the liturgical and musical practices of Augustine's original mission, or in other words, those of Rome at the time of Gregory the Great, perhaps augmented by some Gallican practices.

More concrete evidence concerning the nature of the chant taught by Ædde and Æona is to be found in Extract 10. The specific reference to antiphons and responsories may suggest a higher level of musical sophistication than the *psallere* and *orare* of the earlier extract (referring to St Martin's, Canterbury), but the fact that no mention is made of hymns or lections lends support to the contention

¹⁹On the introduction of the Rule of St Benedict to Britain, see D.H. Farmer, *The Rule of St Benedict* (Copenhagen, 1968), and *Benedict's Disciples* (Leominster, 1980).

that the full Benedictine Office was not yet in place. It is not clear whether the writer is concerned with Mass or Office chants, or both, since the terms *antiphona* and *responsorium* could apply equally well to either. In any case, the primary consideration seems not to be the chants themselves, but the manner of their performance, particularly the use of two choirs singing "with answering voices", or in other words, antiphonally. It is the primitive church, rather than Rome or Canterbury, which is cited as the authority for this practice; but it is also understood that antiphonal singing, like the rule of St Benedict and the Roman tonsure and Easter calculation, was previously unknown in Northumbria, thus implying that it was alien to the Celtic monasteries such as Lindisfarne, of which Wilfrid had first-hand experience.

With regard to the third question ("What were the principal methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation?"), the clearest fact to emerge from these extracts (8-10) is that ecclesiastical chant relied for its dissemination not on liturgical books or theoretical treatises, but on experts (termed *cantandi magister* and *cantor*) specially trained for the purpose. These experts seem not to have been attached to any specific monastery or church, but rather to have been available to travel to different parts of the country at the behest of the bishops. Bede's statement, that the knowledge of sacred music began to be taught in *all* the English churches, gives the impression of a systematic process at work. Given that approximately seventy years had elapsed between Augustine's arrival in Kent and Wilfrid's invitation to Ædde and Æona, and that during this period the knowledge of sacred music had been confined to Kent, it is reasonable to assume that some local means had arisen for the perpetuation of the chant tradition. Once the English mission was firmly established, it would have been impractical constantly to import expert singers from Rome, or to send native personnel to Rome for training. The obvious solution would have been to set up a song-school in Canterbury, initially staffed by Roman clerics sent by Pope Gregory, to pass on the art of singing to successive generations of native cantors (of whom Ædde and Æona are very likely to have been examples). The obvious model for such a scheme would surely have been the famous papal song-school in Rome, the *Schola Cantorum*.

Bede does not specifically mention such a school being set up in Canterbury, but the passage quoted above (Extract 8) follows on from a passage describing a great increase of instruction in a variety of disciplines, including study of the Scriptures, Latin, Greek, the art of metre, astronomy and ecclesiastical computation. This burgeoning of educational activity was inspired by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690, and his assistant Hadrian, both of whom were sent to Britain by Pope Vitalian.

It was not unknown for bishops of this period to be greatly skilled in sacred music; two such prelates are described in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the first of whom was Putta, bishop of Rochester from 669 to 676:

[Extract 11]

He was very learned in ecclesiastical matters but showed little interest in secular affairs and was content with a simple life. He was especially skilled in liturgical chanting after the Roman manner, which he had learned from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory.²⁰

In the year 676, while Putta was absent from his see, Rochester was destroyed by Æthelred, king of the Mercians. The bishop's reaction to this event was as follows:

[Extract 12]

When Putta found that his church was destroyed and all its contents removed, he went to Seaxwulf, bishop of the Mercians, who granted him a church and a small estate, where he ended his life in peace, making no attempt whatever to re-establish his bishopric; for, as was said before, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical than with worldly affairs. So he served God in this church and went round wherever he was invited, teaching church music.²¹

²⁰Bede, *HE* iv, 2.

[*Ordinavit*] virum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et vitæ simplicitate contentum quam in sæculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta, maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papæ Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

²¹Bede, *HE* iv, 12.

Quod ille ubi conperiit, ecclesiam videlicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, divertit ad Sexuulfum Merciorum antistitem, et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiæ cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace vitam finivit, nil omnino de restaurando episcopatu suo agens (quia, sicut ut supra diximus, magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius) sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo serviens et, ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiæ carmina divertens.

The conclusions from these two extracts, which tend to reinforce what was said above concerning Wilfrid and Ædde, may be summarised as follows: firstly, that knowledge of church music was regarded as important enough to occupy the attentions of a bishop, and even perhaps to influence his selection for that office; secondly, that Putta's musical skills, although "after the Roman manner", had been learned not from Rome itself, but "from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory", in other words, from the Roman clerics who had accompanied Augustine to Kent in 597 (or followed in 601); and thirdly, that the dissemination of the chant was carried out by itinerant experts, invited for this purpose to the various churches.

The activities of the other bishop whose musical skills are praised in *Historia Ecclesiastica* were more directly relevant to the growth of chant in Northumbria:

[Extract 13]

Acca, Wilfrid's priest, became bishop of Hexham in Wilfrid's place. He was a man of great energy and noble in the sight of God and man. He enriched the fabric of his church, dedicated to the blessed apostle Andrew, with all kinds of decoration and works of art. He took great trouble, as he still does, to gather relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts and to put up altars for their veneration, establishing various chapels for this purpose within the walls of the church. He has also built up a very large and most noble library, assiduously collecting histories of the passions of the martyrs as well as other ecclesiastical books. He has also zealously provided sacred vessels, lamps, and other objects of the same kind for the adornment of the house of God.²²

Further, he invited a famous singer named Maban, who had been instructed in methods of singing by the successors of the disciples of St Gregory in Kent, to teach him and his people; he kept him for twelve years teaching them such church music as they did not know, while the music which they once knew and which had begun to deteriorate by long use or by neglect was

²²Bede, *HE* v, 20.

Suscepit vero pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagulstadensis ecclesiæ Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus; qui et ipsius ecclesiæ suæ, quæ in beati Andreæ apostoli honorem consecrata est, ædificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit, ut ad quisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi in venerationem illorum poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiæ. Sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, necnon et vasa sancta et luminaria aliaque huiusmodi, quæ ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiodissime paravit.

restored to its original form. For Bishop Acca was himself a singer of great experience, as well as a very learned theologian, untainted in his confession of the catholic faith, and thoroughly familiar with the rules of ecclesiastical custom.²³

If there were any lingering doubts as to the paramount importance of chant in the life of the Northumbrian church, they must surely be dispelled by this passage. Acca's adornment of the church at Hexham is carefully described, but the greatest detail is reserved for the activities of Maban, providing an invaluable glimpse of the nature of the cantor's work. Furthermore, the fact that Maban is described as *cantatorem egregium* demonstrates that the cantor was held in higher esteem than that granted to other craftsmen.

Regarding the provenance of the chant in question, a small but significant distinction is apparent between this extract and the preceding ones concerning Putta (Extracts 11 & 12). Whereas Putta is reported to have learned the chant "*a discipulis beati papæ Gregorii*", Maban was taught "*a successoribus discipulorum beati papæ Gregorii*". Such a distinction is of course readily explained by the difference in date between the events described: Putta (who was made bishop in 669) could feasibly have been instructed in the chant by clergy sent by Pope Gregory; Maban, on the other hand, was not invited to Hexham until some time after 709 (when Acca succeeded Wilfrid as bishop). But the significance lies in the implication of an unbroken musical tradition, starting with Pope Gregory in Rome, brought to Kent by his disciples (and to Northumbria by James), continued in Kent by their successors (and in Northumbria by Ædde and Æona), and finally brought once more to Northumbria by Maban. It should be stressed that, even in the case of Maban, there is no suggestion of any direct musical contact with Rome since the pontificate of Gregory the Great, over a century previously. Another striking aspect of

²³Bede, *HE* v, 20.

Cantatorem quoque egregium, vocabulo Maban, qui a successoribus discipulorum beati papæ Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersit, ac per annos XII tenuit, quatinus et quæ illi non noverant carmina ecclesiastica docerat, et ea quæ quondam cognita longo uso vel negligentia inveterare coeperant, huius doctrina priscum renovarentur in statum. Nam et ipse episcopus Acca cantator erat peritissimus, quomodo etiam in litteris sanctis doctissimus et in catholicæ fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticæ quoque institutionis regulis sollertissimus extiterat.

these passages is Bede's repeated association of the chant, not only with its place of origin, Rome, but also with the person of Pope Gregory. It would hardly be an exaggeration to claim that, by making this link between the chant and St Gregory, Bede had coined the idea, if not the actual name, of Gregorian Chant, well before its accepted date of origin.²⁴

The extract is most useful in the information it provides concerning the transmission of chant. It has been established so far that the teaching of church music was based on an oral tradition perpetuated by individual cantors, whose musical skills were independent of their ecclesiastical status; from the limited information available, it seems to have mattered little whether the cantor were bishop or deacon, monastic or secular, ordained or lay. The common factor linking these cantors is that they represent the chant tradition of Kent in its various stages of development. Any assessment of their respective influence on the formation of a Northumbrian chant tradition must be based on an appraisal both of the level of musical development in Kent, and of the extent to which the Northumbrian churches were able to perpetuate the tradition. In the case of James, whose musical knowledge was probably derived from first-hand experience of Roman chant under Gregory, the Kentish tradition was in its infancy, but for this very reason is likely to have been virtually indistinguishable in style and content from its Roman parent, though perhaps somewhat more limited in scope. In Northumbria, however, the unstable political situation and the lack of a religious community make it unlikely that the process of musical education initiated by James could have survived much beyond his death.²⁵ Ædde and Æona, although farther removed than

²⁴Peter Wagner, in *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, was among the first to notice the significance of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in attributing to Gregory the Great the codification of Roman chant. He cites the examples of Putta and Maban having learned the chant from the disciples (or their successors) of blessed Pope Gregory (*Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, Tr. A. Orme & E.G.P. Wyatt (London, 1901), pp.174-5).

²⁵The influence of James should not be underestimated, given that he lived a very long time; Bede states that he survived until his own days: *qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit* (Bede, *HE* ii, 16).

James from the Gregorian-Roman tradition, were evidently more musically specialized, being described specifically as *cantores* or *cantatores*, and in the case of Ædde, *cantandi magister*. Whereas James' primary task as a deacon was to evangelize the northern pagans, reinforced at a later stage by teaching them to sing, Ædde and Æona were employed by Wilfrid solely for the purpose of instructing the monastic communities of Ripon and Hexham in the musical customs of the early church. This task must have been far from easy, involving not only the teaching of the chants themselves, but also the basic principles of choral singing, such as the division into two choirs for the purpose of antiphonal psalmody. In order to achieve a lasting effect, it is obvious that much time would have been required, and indeed Ædde seems to have ended his life as a monk of Ripon, over forty years after first coming north with Wilfrid. The combination of a stable monastic community with the prolonged presence of at least one trained cantor ensured that the knowledge of chant was perpetuated for the duration of Wilfrid's life and beyond, not only at Ripon but also at Hexham. This is evident from the fact that Maban was invited to Hexham by Acca, not to teach the chant from scratch to monks who were ignorant of church music, but to enlarge and restore the existing repertory of chants. The former of these tasks, that of "teaching them such church music as they did not know", implies that by the time of Maban's visit there was a difference in content between the chant repertory of Kent and that of Hexham. There are two alternative explanations for such a discrepancy: firstly, that the Northumbrian monks' former instruction had been incomplete, due to imperfect memory on the part of the teacher (presumably Ædde or Æona) or insufficient aptitude on the part of the pupils, whereas the Kentish tradition to which Maban belonged had, by its greater stability and more numerous cantors, preserved a larger body of chants from the time of Gregory the Great than had been possible at Hexham; or alternatively, that in the intervening decades between the respective arrivals of Ædde and Maban, the southern chant tradition had expanded its repertory by the adoption of new chants from Rome or elsewhere, while the northern tradition had remained static. The former of these explanations seems the more plausible, since there is no evidence of

any musical contact between Kent and Rome after the time of Gregory the Great. There is also the matter of Maban's second task, which was to restore to their original state (*priscum renovarentur in statum*) those chants "which they once knew and which had begun to deteriorate by long use or by neglect". This deterioration of chants demonstrates the limitations inherent in an oral tradition, especially one operating for many years in isolation from its parent tradition, with few trained cantors to sustain it. But Acca's desire for such chants to be restored to their original state demonstrates that in early eighth-century Britain there already existed the notion of a fixed archetype of the chant, to which corrupt versions were made to conform. This archetype, faithfully preserved in Kent by successive generations of cantors, is attributed not to contemporary Rome, or even to the early church (as had been the case with Ædde), but to Gregory the Great himself.

Apart from the question of Gregory's association with the chant, the most significant issue arising from this notion of an archetype is how it affects the idea of improvisation within an oral tradition. It has become widely accepted, largely through the writings of such influential scholars as Leo Treitler²⁶ and Helmut Huckle²⁷, that before the evolution of chant notation, the performance of chant involved a high degree of improvisation, using stereotypical melodic formulæ in variable combinations. While it is not proposed to contradict this view, observation of the work of British cantors at the time of Bede does suggest the need for a revision of the widely-accepted time-scale for the crystallization of improvised chants into fixed melodies. The time-scale proposed by Huckle and Treitler has already been challenged in recent articles by Kenneth Levy²⁸ and

²⁶See particularly the following articles by Leo Treitler on the subject of improvisation and oral transmission of chant: "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Chant." *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), 333-72; "'Centonate' Chant: *Übles flickwerk* or *E Pluribus Unus*?" *JAMS* 28 (1975), 1-23; "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music." *Speculum* 56 (1981), 471-91.

²⁷Helmut Huckle, "Towards a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant." *JAMS* 33 (1980), 437-67; "Gregorian and Old Roman Chant." *New Grove Dictionary* (London, 1980).

David Hughes²⁹, who argue that Gregorian Chant was fully fixed with respect to pitch by the time of its dissemination under Charlemagne, and that the Mass propers were fully neumed by the beginning of the ninth century: that is, a century earlier than the first surviving neumed propers, which date from c. 900.³⁰ Hughes proposes the following model for the transmission of chant under Charlemagne:

1. A body of chants fully fixed with respect to pitch was in use at the Carolingian court or at one of the major Frankish singing schools--Metz, for example--as early as the time of Charlemagne, and was thence propagated to the rest of the Empire and beyond. (How the chant got to the court is not a matter addressed by this study.) At the time of its radiation, it was transmitted orally, but the oral tradition was tightly controlled and hence highly uniform.

2. The process of radiation was effected by court-trained singers going out into the provinces and teaching the singers there (at the expense, of course, of the autochthonous chant of those regions).³¹

[The rest of the model concerns melodic variants and notation]

There is nothing in this model which could not, merely by changing the location and period, be made to apply to the process of chant transmission in Britain during the seventh and early-eighth centuries. Neither Levy nor Hughes attempts to trace the history of chant back to the period preceding the Carolingian diffusion, but Hughes speculates that during this earlier period,

"the chant repertoire--or perhaps repertoires--was still in a fluid state, improvised at least in part, no doubt in ways similar to those described by Professors Treitler and Huckle. Successive generations of singers then grew increasingly hesitant about real improvisation, preferring instead to imitate more or less exactly the improvisations of their predecessors (which they would of course know by heart). These "frozen" improvisations then ultimately became the official versions of the chant."³²

²⁸Kenneth Levy, "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant." *JAMS* 40 (1987), 1-30.

²⁹David G. Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant." *JAMS* 40 (1987), 377-404.

³⁰For a list of the more important manuscripts containing neumed propers, see Levy 1987, 4.

³¹Hughes 1987, 400.

³²Hughes 1987, 401.

It is obvious that while the chant was still in a state of flux, there could be no concept of an authentic or authoritative version of any individual chant, and that to attempt to restore a chant "to its original state" (*in priscum statum*) would be anachronistic. Given that such a restoration was one of the tasks entrusted to Maban at Hexham, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the chant tradition of Kent, to which Maban belonged, was one in which the chant melodies were already "fixed." Moreover, the fact that the monks had once known the chants in their correct form suggests that the fixing of the melodies had already occurred by the time of their earlier transmission from Kent, under Ædde and Æona.

The extracts considered so far have given the impression of a Northumbrian chant tradition dependent almost entirely on that of Kent, with no direct musical contact with Rome (even James the deacon spent twenty-four years in Kent, before going north with Paulinus in 625). However, in the case of the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, an intimate liturgical and musical connection with Rome was established from the very beginning. This was due to the efforts of the founder, Benedict Biscop, whose achievements are recorded in no fewer than three contemporary sources: Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *Historia Abbatum*, and the anonymous *Vita Sancti Ceolfredi*. The relevant passages are given below in full, not only to demonstrate the great importance attached to Roman chant by the writers, but also because each account, while describing the same events, reveals a slightly different aspect of the cantor's work.

[Extract 15]

He was untiring in his efforts to see his monastery well provided for: the ornaments and images he could not find in France he sought out in Rome. Once his foundation had settled down to the ordered life of the Rule, he went off on a fourth visit to Rome, returning with a greater variety of spiritual treasures than ever before. In the first place he returned with a great mass of books of every sort. Secondly, he brought back an abundant supply of relics of the blessed apostles and christian martyrs which were to prove such a boon for many churches in the land. Thirdly, he introduced in his monastery the order of chanting and singing the psalms and conducting the liturgy according to the practice in force at Rome. To this end Pope Agatho, at Benedict's request, offered him the services of the chief cantor of St Peter's and abbot of the monastery of St Martin, a man called John. Benedict brought him back to Britain to be choirmaster in the monastery. John taught the monks at first hand how things were done in the churches of Rome and also committed a good part of his teaching to writing. This is still preserved in memory of him in the monastery library.³³

[Extract 16]

Benedict received this Abbot John and brought him to Britain in order that he might teach the monks of his monastery the mode of chanting throughout the year as it was practised at St Peter's in Rome. Abbot John carried out the Pope's instructions and taught the cantors of the monastery the order and manner of singing and reading aloud and also committed to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year; these writings have been preserved to this day in the monastery and copies have now been made by many others elsewhere. Not only did John instruct the brothers in this monastery, but all who had any skill in singing flocked in

³³Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapter 6. Quotations in English translation are taken from *The Age of Bede*, edited by D.H. Farmer (Harmondsworth, 1983); Latin quotations are from *Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica*, edited by C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896).

Et ut ea quoque quæ nec in Gallia quidem repperiri valebant, Romanis e finibus æcclesiæ suæ provisor inpiger ornamenta vel munimenta conferret; quarta illo, post conpositum iuxta regulam monasterium, profectio completa multipliciore quam prius spiritalium mercium fenore cumulatus rediit. Primo quod innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam adportavit; secundo quod reliquiarum beatorum apostolorum martirumque Christi habundantem gratiam multis Anglorum æcclesiis profuturam advexit; tertio quod ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in æcclesia ministrandi iuxta morem Romanæ institutionis suo monasterio contradidit, postulato videlicet atque accepto ab Agathone papa archicantore æcclesiæ beati apostoli Petri et abbate monasterii beati Martini Iohanne, quem sui futurum magistrum monasterii Britannias, Romanum Anglis adduceret. Qui illo perveniens, non solum viva voce quæ Romæ didicit æcclesiastica discentibus tradidit; sed et non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit, quæ hactenus in eiusdem monasterii bibliotheca memoriæ gratia servantur.

from almost all the monasteries in the kingdom to hear him, and he had many invitations to teach elsewhere.³⁴

[Extract 17]

As soon then as a basilica of exquisite workmanship had been very expeditiously erected and dedicated to the honour of St Peter the Apostle, the most reverend abbot Benedict prepared for a visit to Rome; his intention being to bring back to his country an abundance of sacred books, some sweet memorials of the relics of the blessed martyrs, a delineation of the stories in the canonical scriptures that should be well worthy of reverence, and, as on many previous occasions, other things besides, the gift of the world abroad, but above all else teachers to instruct his people according to the custom of the Roman use in the order of chanting and ministration in the church which he had recently founded.

Ceolfrid went with him on his journey, wishful to school himself more thoroughly at Rome than he could in Britain in the duties of his degree; whilst Eosterwine, a priest, and kinsman of Benedict, was left in charge of the monastery during their absence. So, God working with them, their intention was carried into effect. They acquainted themselves at Rome with many statutes of the church, and brought back with them to Britain John (of blessed memory), arch-cantor of the Roman church and abbot of St Martin's monastery, who taught us abundantly the systematic rule of chanting, both by the living voice and by writing.³⁵

³⁴Bede, *HE* iv, 18.

Accepit et præfatum Iohannem abbatem Brittaniam perducendum, quatinus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret; egitque abba Iohannes ut iussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat etiam litteris mandando, quæ hactenus in eodem monasterio servata et a multis iam sunt circumquaque transcripta. Non solum autem idem Iohannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, verum de omnibus pene eiusdem provinciæ monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluebant. Sed et ipsum per loca in quibus doceret multi invitare curabant.

³⁵*Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 9.

Facta autem citissime basilica operis eximii, atque in honorem beati Petri apostoli dedicata, reverentissimus abbas Benedictus Romam ire disposuit, ut librorum copiam sanctorum, reliquiarum beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem, historiarum canonicarum picturam merito venerandam, sed et alia, quæ consuerat, peregrini orbis dona, patriam referret; maxime magistros, qui iuxta ritum Romanæ institutionis ordinem cantandi et ministrandi in ea, quam nuper fundaverat æcclesia, docerent.

Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 10.

Comitatus est Ceolfridus euntem, cupiens sui gradus officium plenius Romæ, quam in Brittaniam poterat, ediscere; relictus vero est ad tuitionem monasterii, donec redirent, Eosterwyni presbiter et cognatus abbatis Benedicti. Cooperanti autem Domino, propositum sequitur

These three extracts (15-17) leave the reader in no doubt as to the significance attached to Abbot John's visit to Britain, and its effect on the musical and liturgical life of the newly-founded monastery of Wearmouth. In describing this episode, some partiality might be expected on the part of authors who were themselves monks of Wearmouth's sister foundation of Jarrow, but equally, the mutual corroboration of their accounts, and the fact that both men must have been directly affected by John's teaching, make them particularly reliable as historical witnesses. Once again, the special importance of chant is emphasised by the amount of detail given to the account of the arch-cantor's visit, compared with the otherwise succinct enumerations of Biscop's achievements.

Turning to the question of the type and provenance of the chants taught by the arch-cantor, there is in this case no room for ambiguity: the clear aim of Benedict Biscop was to reproduce at Wearmouth the liturgy and music of St Peter's, Rome. Furthermore, the exact date of John's visit can be determined by the fact that he was present (as Pope Agatho's representative) at the synod of Hatfield in 680.³⁶ This is the only recorded instance of direct liturgical contact with Rome since the arrival of Augustine's reinforcements in 601, and although there had been other clergy sent from Rome to Britain (such as Theodore and Hadrian), Abbot John's was the only case in which the teaching of chant was the primary purpose of the mission. It is particularly noticeable that Biscop adopted a different approach to liturgy from that which he operated with regard to other aspects of ecclesiastical life. Whereas in formulating a Rule for his monastery he had chosen all that was best from the seventeen monasteries he had visited, and in the matter of church building he had imported stone-masons and glass-makers from Gaul, when it came to liturgy and music he insisted on the pure,

effectus, et ibi multa discunt æcclesiæ statuta, et beate memorie Iohannem archicantorem Romanæ æcclesiæ, abbatemque monasterii beati Martyni, secum Brittaniam ducunt, qui nos abundanter ordinem cantandi per ordinem et viva voce simul et litteris edocuit.

³⁶This detail is included in the chronological summary at the end of *Historia Ecclesia* (Bede, *HE* v, 24):
Anno DCLXXX, synodus facta in campo Hæthfeltha de fide catholica, præsidente archiepiscopo Theodoro; in quo adfuit Iohannes abba Romanus.

unadulterated Roman Rite. This is in striking contrast with the attitude of Wilfrid, who although just as well travelled as Biscop (they even visited Rome together on one occasion), was content to import singing-masters, stone-masons and other craftsmen from Kent. There are several possible explanations for this serious divergence of approach. Firstly, it might be that in the third quarter of the seventh century the chant tradition of Kent was indistinguishable from that of Rome, making it a matter of indifference whether cantors were chosen from one place or the other. In this case the choice would have reflected the practicalities of the two situations: it was simply more convenient for Wilfrid to use cantors from Kent, while Biscop took up a timely offer of the services of a Roman abbot. Secondly, if the two traditions had become distinct from each other, the choice might have rested on the individual tastes of the two abbots; it is even conceivable that Biscop might have regarded the Roman liturgy as superior precisely because it originated in Rome, thereby ignoring Pope Gregory's advice to Augustine on the same subject (see Extract 2). The problem with the first of these possible explanations is that it is too casual to fit the known facts: one does not procure the services of the chief cantor of St Peter's as a matter of convenience, without a deliberate aim in mind. The second explanation can be dismissed on the grounds that it militates against what is known about Wilfrid's character and circumstances. As a young man he had been extremely keen to visit Rome, and having achieved his goal he studied there for many months under Boniface the archdeacon. If there had been major differences in liturgical chant between Rome and Kent, Wilfrid would surely have shown a preference for the Roman version.³⁷

In seeking to explain the divergence between Wilfrid and Biscop in providing chant for their respective monasteries of Ripon and Wearmouth, there is a third and more plausible explanation, which

³⁷On Wilfrid's first visit to Rome, see Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Chapter 5.

Another example of Wilfrid's enthusiasm for Roman customs was his decision, while in Kent, to learn a different version of the Psalter from that which he had previously memorized on Lindisfarne, precisely because it was the version currently in use at Rome; c.f. *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Chapter 3.

hinges on the dates, frequency and purpose of each man's visits to Rome. Wilfrid is reported to have visited the Apostolic See three times, the dates of these visits being 653-4, 679 and 703; Benedict Biscop made the journey to Rome on no fewer than six occasions, in 653, c.666, 669, c.671, 679-80, and 685. Given that Wilfrid brought the cantors Ædde and Æona to Ripon in 669, his only experience of Rome thus far was one extended visit made fifteen years previously. Biscop, on the other hand, had travelled to Rome five times before he invited John the arch-cantor to visit Wearmouth. On their first visit (Wilfrid and Biscop having travelled together as far as Lyons), the liturgy and music they encountered in Rome is unlikely to have changed significantly since the death of Pope Gregory fifty years previously. Of the ten popes who had reigned between 604 and 654, the only one responsible for any liturgical innovations was Deusdedit, also known as Adeodatus I (615-18), who is credited with the institution of an evening office corresponding to matins, for the secular clergy. Assuming that in the first half of the seventh century the chant tradition of Kent enjoyed a high degree of stability (made possible by the monastic life in Canterbury), it is quite likely that the visiting Northumbrians perceived no essential difference between the liturgies of Rome and Canterbury. Thus, when Wilfrid needed cantors for his monastery at Ripon he looked no further than Kent, confident that he was reproducing the chant tradition of Rome. Benedict Biscop, however, before founding his monastery at Wearmouth, made three more pilgrimages to Rome as well as spending two years as abbot of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul (known later as Saint Augustine's) in Canterbury. The latter might therefore have provided a convenient supply of cantors for his own foundation, had he been satisfied (as Wilfrid evidently was) that the liturgies of Kent and Rome were virtually indistinguishable from each other. Instead, having founded the monastery of Wearmouth in 674, Biscop travelled yet again to Rome with the deliberate aim of supplying his monastery with adornments which he could not find elsewhere, amongst which he evidently counted the Roman liturgy and chant.

This does not imply that the chant tradition of Canterbury had become corrupt or had departed substantially from its Gregorian origins- indeed the example of Maban demonstrates the liveliness of

the tradition well into the eighth century- but rather that between 654 and 679 (the dates of Biscop's first and fifth visits to Rome), the Roman liturgy itself had undergone radical changes. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Biscop's second, third and fourth visits all took place during the pontificate of Vitalian (pope from 657 to 672), who was responsible for developing the *schola cantorum* (the foundation of which is attributed to Gregory the Great) at the Lateran to train singers for a papal liturgy which was being elaborated under the influence of Byzantine customs.³⁸

Before considering the methods of transmission employed in this case, it should be noted that the Roman customs which were to be planted in Northumbria by John the arch-cantor were not confined to the chant melodies alone, but consisted of the three-fold order of chanting, singing the psalms and conducting the liturgy (*ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in æcclesia ministrandi*) [Extract 15].

A particularly striking feature of John's visit is the fact that he is reported to have committed his musical and liturgical instruction to writing. Although the resulting document has not survived, it is nevertheless significant as the earliest known example of a liturgical book written in Northumbria, and marks a new departure in the teaching methods adopted by cantors in Britain. Although John's manuscript is not described in detail, a reconstruction of its contents may be attempted on the basis of circumstantial evidence provided by the three above extracts [15-17]. This evidence may be summarized as follows:

(a) the contents must have conformed with the liturgical and musical practices of Rome, c.680;

(b) the manuscript was, however, not brought by John from Rome, but was written by him at Wearmouth. There is, moreover, no evidence that he copied it from a Roman exemplar;

(c) this strongly implies that no such exemplar existed in Rome, since even if it was unique and not able to be removed, John could

³⁸On Vitalian's role in the development of the papal song-school, see S.J.P. Van Dijk, "Gregory the Great, Founder of the Urban *Schola cantorum*." *Ephemerides liturgicæ* 77 (1963), 345-56.

presumably have copied it before his visit to Northumbria, or arranged for a copy to be sent later;

(d) most, but not all, of John's teaching was committed to writing (*sed et non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit*) [Extract 15];

(e) the document is reported to have contained "all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the year" (*ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat*) [Extract 16];

(f) John's original manuscript was still preserved in the library of Wearmouth and Jarrow fifty years later when Bede was writing *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*hactenus in eodem monasterio servata*), and in the intervening period had acted as an exemplar for many other copies to be used elsewhere (*a multis iam sunt circumquaque transcripta*) [Extract 16].

This evidence points to a document which was composite, didactic in purpose, and of a type hitherto unknown in Britain. It is even tempting to suggest that it might have contained some primitive form of chant notation (perhaps alphabetic), which would push back even the most radical current dating of chant notation by a century. It could be argued that such a suggestion is supported by the reference to John's teaching the systematic rule of chanting "both by the living voice and by writing" (*et viva voce simul et litteris*) [Extract 17]. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence, this notion must remain in the realm of pure speculation.

Another possibility is that the arch-cantor's manuscript was none other than the Roman Antiphoner, which Peter Wagner assumed to have been brought to Britain by Augustine. Certainly the date of 680 is not impossibly early for a texted antiphoner without notation; indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such full liturgical provision as that made by John could be enacted without such a document.

Another, more plausible theory is that the document in question was not a book containing only chants, notated or otherwise, but rather some form of liturgical directory after the manner of an ordinal. This would accord well with the arch-cantor's didactic aims, and need not rule out the possible inclusion of partial or complete chant texts.

One highly significant feature of the account of John's teaching in *Historia Ecclesiastica* is the emphasis placed on the yearly liturgical cycle, implying that the proper chants for Mass and Office throughout the year were already fixed by this date. Moreover, the two expressions used by Bede (*cursum canendi annum* and *ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat*) [Extract 16] could be interpreted as referring, in the former case, to ordinary Sundays and ferial days, and in the latter, to festal days such as Christmas, Easter and major saints' days. If *cursum canendi annum* does indeed refer to the chants for Sundays (and possibly ferias) throughout the year, this lends added significance to the arch-cantor's liturgical mission to Northumbria, since provision of Proper chants for the ordinary or "green" Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost is usually dated much later than 680. For example, the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, which is a late-eighth-century conflation of the earlier Leonine Sacramentary with Frankish sources, makes no specific provision for the Sundays in question, other than a common stock of chants from which to choose *ad libitum*. However, 680 is not an impossibly early date for such a cycle to have been fixed; there survives from Monte Cassino a sacramentary fragment (of the "Gregorian" type), which dates from c.700³⁹. It is therefore possible that the "Dominical layer" was fixed at Rome by 680, but had not yet been written down, thus explaining the arch-cantor's need to commit his instructions to writing in Northumbria.

The following two extracts, concerning the death of Benedict Biscop and the appointment of his successor, demonstrate the practice of antiphonal psalmody at Wearmouth, and also the importance of proficiency in church music among the accomplishments of an abbot.

[Extract 18]

As it was impossible for him [Benedict Biscop] to rise from bed to pray and difficult for him even to find sufficient voice to recite the psalms in their appointed order, this prudent man, spurred on by love of his faith, had several of the brethren come to him at every hour of prayer, both day and night. Formed into two small choirs, they sang the usual psalms antiphonally, so that he could join in with them as far as he

³⁹For a description of this manuscript, see "Palimpsest fragments of a Gregorian Sacramentary at Monte Cassino", *Revue Benedictine* xxvi (1909), pp.281 seq.

was able and thus fulfil with their assistance what he had not strength to accomplish alone.⁴⁰

[Extract 19]

And so Hwætberht was duly elected abbot. He had been taught in that same monastery from his earliest childhood to observe the discipline of the rule and had also applied himself there to solid study of the arts of writing, chanting, reading and teaching. In the reign of Pope Sergius of blessed memory he too had hastened to Rome and had stayed there a good long while, learning, copying and bringing back with him all that he thought necessary for his studies. At the time of his election he had been a priest for twelve years.⁴¹

Of all the sources under consideration, perhaps the most remarkable for its references to liturgy and chant is the anonymous *Vita Sancti Ceolfredi*, written by a monk of Jarrow shortly after Ceolfred's death in 716. The following account of the foundation of St Paul's, Jarrow as a sister-house to Wearmouth reports the institution of "the same complete canonical method of chanting and reading" as that employed at the older monastery, then goes on to describe exactly what this entailed: to chant the psalms, to read in church, and to recite the antiphons and responsories; in other words, the complete, fully sung Divine Office.

[Extract 20]

Now eight years after they had begun to establish the aforesaid monastery, it pleased King Ecgfrid for the redemption of his soul to grant to the most reverend abbot Benedict yet another estate, of forty hides, that thereon a church and monastery in honour of St Paul might be erected; not indeed cut off from union with the older monastery, but in all respects bound thereto in brotherly concord. This work was committed

⁴⁰Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapter 12.

Et quia nullatenus ad orandum surgere, non facile ad explendum solitæ psalmodiæ cursum linguam vocemue poterat levare, didicit vir prudens, affectu religionis dictante, per singulas diurnæ sive nocturnæ orationis horas aliquos ad se fratrum vocare, quibus psalmos consuetos duobus in choris resonantibus, et ipse cum eis quatinus poterat psallendo, quod per se solum nequiverat, eorum iuvamine suppleret.

⁴¹Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapter 18.

Eligitur itaque abbas Hwætberchtus qui a primis pueritiæ temporibus eodem in monasterio non solum regularis observantia disciplinæ institutus, sed et scribendi, cantandi, legendi ac docendi fuerat non parva exercitatus industria. Romam quoque temporibus beatæ memoriæ Sergii papæ accurrens, et non parvo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus, quæque sibi necessaria iudicabat, didicit, descripsit, retulit; insuper et duodecim ante hæc annos presbyterii est functus officio.

to Ceolfrid, and he carried it out with no lack of energy. For taking with him twenty-two of the brethren, ten of them tonsured and twelve yet awaiting the grace of the tonsure, he came to the place, all the buildings which the need of the monastery specially required having first been erected there, and inaugurated the identical discipline of regular observance and the same complete canonical method of chanting and reading which was maintained in the older monastery; and that at a time when by no means all the members of his company knew how to chant the psalms, much less how to read in the church, or to recite the antiphons or responsories. But what helped them was their love of religion, and the example of their zealous ruler, and his tactful persistency. For, in his desire to set deep the roots of monastic observance he was generally wont to attend the church with the brethren at all canonical hours; to refresh himself and rest when they did; that, if anything needed correction, if any lesson had to be taught to the novices, he himself might be there to accomplish it.⁴²

[Extract 21]

Furthermore in the monastery over which Ceolfrid presided all those brethren who could read or preach or recite the antiphons and responsories were taken away [i.e. died of plague], with the exception of the abbot and one little boy, who had been reared and taught by him, and who is at this day still in the same monastery, where he holds the rank of a priest, and both by written and spoken words justly commends his teacher's praiseworthy acts to all who desire to know of them. Now he--I mean the abbot--being much distressed by reason of the aforesaid pestilence, gave command that, their former use being suspended, they should go through all the psalmody, except at vespers and matins, without antiphons. And, when this practice had been followed for the space of one week amid many tears and complaints on his own part, being unable to endure it longer he resolved once again that the

⁴² *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 11.

Post octo autem annos quam præfatum monasterium statuere cæperant, placuit Ecgrido regi, pro redemptione animæ suæ, etiam aliam XL familiarum terram reverentissimo abbati Benedicto donare, in qua æcclesia et monasterium beato Paulo fieret; non quidem a prioris monasterii societate seiunctum, sed eidem in omnibus unanima fraternitate conexum. Quod opus sibi iniunctum Ceolfridus strenuosissime perfecit; namque acceptis secum XXII fratribus, decem quidem attonsis, XII vero tonsuræ adhuc gratiam expectantibus, venit ad locum, primo ibidem constructis omnibus, que maxime necessitas monasterii poscebat, domibus ipsamque regularis custodiæ disciplinam, eundem cantandi legendique ritum omnem canonicum, quem in priori monasterio servabant, ibi quoque celebrandum suscepit; dum nequaquam omnes, qui cum eo venerant, psalmos cantare, quanto minus legere in æcclesia, vel antifonas sive responsoria dicere nossent. Sed iuvit eos amor religionis, et studiosi rectoris exemplum atque instantia sollers, qui donec altum monasterialis observantiæ radicem figeret, sepius horis omnibus canonicis cum fratribus æcclesiam frquentare, refici, et quiescere solebat; quatinus si qua corrigenda, si qua novitios essent docenda, præsens ipse perficeret.

customary order of antiphonal psalmody should be restored; and, with all endeavour, by himself and the help of the boy above mentioned, with no small effort he carried out his resolve, until a sufficient number of associates in the divine service could be trained up by himself or gathered from elsewhere.⁴³

[Extract 22]

And coming back to the monastery of St Peter, as soon as day dawned, after mass had been sung at St Peter's and at St Mary's, and those who were present had received communion, he at once with his mind resolved called all the brethren into St Peter's church, asked for their prayers on his own behalf and himself recited a prayer; then he put on incense, and holding the censer in his hand took his stand on the steps from which he had been accustomed to read, and gave the kiss of peace to very many of them, his own grief and theirs preventing him from giving it to all. He went forth censer in hand to the oratory of St Laurence the martyr, which is in the dormitory of the brethren, and they followed in his steps singing the antiphon from the prophet: *Via iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum præparatum est, et ambulantes de virtute in virtutum*, with the addition of the sixty-sixth psalm, *Deus misereatur nobis et benedicat nos: inluminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nobis*. And then, going forth with incense kindled he once more addressed them all...⁴⁴

⁴³ *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 14.

Porro in monasterio, cui Ceolfridus præerat, omnes qui legere, vel prædicare, vel antifonas ac responsoria dicere possent, ablati sunt, excepto ipse abbate et uno puerulo, qui ab ipso nutritus et eruditus, nunc usque in eodem monasterio presbyterii gradum tenens, iure actus eius laudabiles cunctis scire volentibus et scripto commendat, et fatu. Qui videlicet abbas, præfate gratia plagæ multum tristis, præcepit ut, intermisso ritu priori, psalmodiam totam, præter vespere et matutinis, sine antiphonis transigerent. Quod cum unius ebdomadis spatio inter multas eius lacrimas et querimonias esset actitatum, diutius hoc fieri non ferens, rursus statuit, ut antifonatae psalmodiæ, iuxta morem, cursus instaureretur, cunctisque adnitentibus, per se et quem prædixi puerum, que statuerat, non parvo cum labore complebat, donec socios operis divini sufficientes vel nutriret ipse, vel aliunde colligeret.

⁴⁴ *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 25.

Rediensque ad monasterium beati Petri mox mane facto, cantata missa ad sanctum Petrum, et ad sanctam Mariam, et, communicantibus qui aderant, confestim paratus vocat fratres omnes in æcclesiam beati Petri, rogat pro se orare, dicit et ipse orationem, accendit thymiana, habensque in manu turribulum consistit in gradibus, ubi legere consuevit, dat osculum plurimis, nam ne omnibus posset, luctu et suo et ipsorum præpeditur. Egreditur cum turribulo ad oratorium beati Laurentii martyris, quod est in dormitorio fratrum, sequuntur et ipsi cantantes antiphonam de propheta: "Via iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum præparatum est," et "ambulantes de virtute in virtutem," adiuncto et psalmo sexagesimo sexto, "Deus misereatur

...When his address was ended the antiphon was resumed, and with it the psalm above mentioned, and they passed out to the river, leading forth their father with mournful song as one all but lost to them; and once more he gave to each and all the kiss of peace, their chanting again and again interrupted by their tears, and having recited a prayer on the shore he ascended the vessel and sat down at its prow. The deacons seated themselves beside him, one of them holding a golden cross which he had made, the other lighted candles.⁴⁵

...The brethren returned to the church, and prayers being ended, they discussed what was to be done...

...now it was the Thursday before Whitsunday, and it was resolved that the fast should be observed on the following day and night, and that on the Saturday they should refresh themselves at the ninth hour only, because by reason of the vigil preceding the Sunday's solemnities they could no further prolong their fasting; they also arranged that at the usual canonical hours of prayer the number of their psalms should be in no slight degree augmented...⁴⁶

The antiphon *Via iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum præparatum est*, which is mentioned in chapter 25 of the *Life of Ceolfrid* [Extract 22 above], is described as "the antiphon from the prophet", since its text is taken from the book of Isaiah, chapter 26, verse 7. The text of this antiphon does not agree with St Jerome's translation of the Bible (commonly known as the Vulgate), in which the verse in question reads: *Semita iusti recta est, rectus callis iusti ad ambulandum*. This lack of agreement is somewhat surprising, given that the Vulgate is known to have been in use at Jarrow and Wearmouth by the time of Ceolfrid's resignation of his abbacy in

nobis, et benedicat nos, inluminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nobis." Et ibi incenso thure exiens, rursum adloquitur omnes...

⁴⁵*Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 26.

...Completa allocutione, rursus adsumpta antiphona cum psalmo memorato egrediuntur ad fluvium, lugubre carmine patrem utpote iam decessurum deducetes, itidemque singulis osculum pacis dat, intercepto sepius cantu præ lacrimis, et dicta in litore oratione, ascendit navem, residet in prora, sederunt iuxta diacones, unus crucem, quam fecerat, auream, alter cæreas tenens ardentes.

⁴⁶*Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, chapter 28.

...Reversi ad æcclesiam fratres completa oratione consilium ineunt quid faciant...

...erat autem quinta feria ante dominicam Pentecosten, visum est sequenti die ac nocte ieunandum, et sabbato tantum ad nonam horam reficiendum, quia propter vigiliis Dominicæ sollempnitatis nequibant ultra protelare ieiunium; sed et psalmos non paucos per congruas canonicæ orationis horas augendos...

716⁴⁷. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy is that the text of the antiphon *Via iustorum* had become fixed by association with a particular melody at a time when an earlier translation of the Bible was in use. This explanation argues against the idea of an improvised chant tradition at Jarrow and Wearmouth; if the melody of an antiphon was newly improvised for each performance, there would be no reason to perpetuate an archaic version of a biblical text.

Just as the antiphon *Via iustorum* does not conform with the Vulgate reading, so the sixty-sixth psalm, with which it is linked (in Extract 22), differs from the translation found in the Gallican Psalter. The two readings of the first verse are as follows:

Deus misereatur nobis, et benedicat nos, inluminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nobis. (Life of Ceolfrid);

Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis: illuminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri. (Gallican Psalter).

The reason for this survival of an archaic translation of a psalm is less obvious than in the case of the antiphon previously mentioned. Whereas an antiphon text might become "fixed" by association with its particular melody, the simple melodic formulæ used for psalmodic recitation could easily be transferred from one translation of the Psalter to another. Of course, in a narrative such as the *Life of Ceolfrid*, the version used in quoting a psalm is as likely to reflect the usage of the narrator as that of the monastery being described. In this case, however, it is almost certain that the anonymous author was a member of the community which is the subject of his writing, and that the *Life* was written soon after Ceolfrid's death. Can it therefore be assumed that the Gallican Psalter was not in common use in Northumbria in the early eighth century?

In order to attempt an answer to this question, it will be useful to examine other sources from the same period. There is one such source which, as well as being contemporaneous with the *Life of Ceolfrid*, was also written at Ceolfrid's own monastery of Jarrow. This

⁴⁷Chapter 20 in the *Life of Ceolfrid* reports that during his abbacy Ceolfrid caused three pandects (complete Bibles in one volume) to be transcribed; one each for Jarrow and Wearmouth, and one as a gift to the Pope. This latter has since been identified with the *Codex Amiatinus* in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and is the earliest complete surviving example of the Vulgate.

is Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*, and the relevant passage describes the events immediately following Cuthbert's death:

[Extract 23]

I immediately went out and announced his death to the brethren who had passed the night in watching and prayers, and they were by chance, according to the order of matins, [Colgrave wrongly translates as *lauds*] singing the fifty-ninth Psalm, which begins, *Deus reppulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, et misertus es nobis*. Without delay one of them ran out and lit two torches: and holding one in each hand, he went on to some higher ground to show the brethren who were in the Lindisfarne monastery that his holy soul had gone to be with the Lord: for this was the sign they had agreed upon amongst themselves to notify his most holy death. When the brother had seen it, who had been keeping watch and awaiting the hour of this event far away in the watch-tower of the island of Lindisfarne opposite, he quickly ran to the church where the whole assembly of the brethren were gathered together celebrating the office of the nightly psalm-singing; and it happened that they also, when he entered, were singing the above-mentioned psalm⁴⁸.

Given the similarity of the circumstances under which the two *vitae* were written, it might be expected that both authors would quote from the same translation of the Psalter. In fact, the beginning of Psalm 59 quoted by Bede in the above extract is taken from the Gallican version, so it is still not clear which version was in use at Jarrow and Wearmouth.

Another contemporary Northumbrian *vita* is that of St Wilfrid, written by Eddius Stephanus in about 720. In chapter 2 it is stated that Wilfrid, while living with the monastic community of Lindisfarne,

⁴⁸Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (Prose Life), chapter 40.

At ego statim egressus nuntiavi obitum eius fratribus, qui et ipsi noctem vigilando atque orando transegerant, et tunc forte sub ordinæ nocturnæ laudis dicebant psalmum quinquagesimum nonum cuius initium est, "Deus reppulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, et misertus es nobis." Nec mora currens unus ex eis accendit duas candelas, et utraque tenens manu ascendit eminentiorem locum ad ostendendum fratribus qui in Lindisfarnensi monasterio manebant, quia sancta illa anima iam migrasset ad Dominum. Tale namque inter se signum sanctissimi eius obitus condixerant. Quod cum videret frater qui in specula Lindisfarnensis insulæ longe de contra eventus eiusdem pervigil expectaverat horam, cucurrit citius ad æcclesiam ubi collectus omnis fratrum coetus nocturnæ psalmodiæ solennia celebrabat. Contigitque ut ipsi quoque intrante illo præfatum canerent psalmum.

"learned the whole Psalter by heart as well as several books."⁴⁹ In the following chapter, which describes Wilfrid's sojourn in Kent before setting out for Rome, there is a more detailed mention of the Psalms:

Now the Psalms which he had first of all read in Jerome's revision he committed to memory from the fifth edition, after the Roman use⁵⁰.

From this it is clear that the Gallican Psalter (referred to here as "Jerome's revision") was the version used on Lindisfarne; but that Wilfrid later learned the Roman version. The use of the word "quintam" to describe this edition is erroneous, since there was no fifth edition at this date; Colgrave (p.152) suggests that it is a scribal error for "antiquam". From the late fourth century onwards, there was widespread acceptance of St Jerome's second translation of the Psalter, known as the Gallican because of its rapid penetration into Gaul. However, Rome itself and the church throughout most of Italy continued to use Jerome's first translation of the Psalter, which was a very cursory revision of the *Vetus Itala* of c.250, the oldest Latin translation of the Psalter. This first translation of Jerome's came to be known as the Roman Psalter, and from it is taken the first verse of Psalm 66, quoted in the *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*.

The Roman Psalter is, therefore, the most likely version to have been in use at Jarrow at the time of Ceolfrid's departure, and when the *vita* was written down. In this case, it may have been for the sake of historical accuracy that Bede quoted the Lindisfarne monks as using the Gallican version of Psalm 59; he is, indeed, quoting the story in the words of an eye-witness, Herefrith. In conclusion, however, a note of caution should be added. The best-known liturgical survival of a text from the Roman Psalter is the Invitatory (Psalm 94) at Matins; it continued to be sung in this version even in churches which adopted the Gallican Psalter for all of its common psalmody. Since Psalm 66 fulfilled a similar function at Lauds in the

⁴⁹Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, chapter 2.
Omnes psalmorum seriem memorialiter et aliquantos libros didicit.

⁵⁰Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, chapter 3.
Psalmos namque, quos prius secundum Hieronymi emendatione legerat, more Romanorum iuxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmetuit.

monastic rite as that of Psalm 94 at Matins (ie. it was invariably sung every day at the beginning of this Office, regardless of the particular day of the week or feast-day), it may likewise have survived in its Roman version even where the rest of the psalmody was sung according to the Gallican Psalter.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM THE DEATH OF CUTHBERT TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST: THE DECLINE OF NORTHUMBRIAN MONASTICISM

Behold the church of St Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of all its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as prey to the pagan peoples. And where, after the coming of St Paulinus to York, the Christian religion took its first beginning among our people, there the reign of misery and calamity begins.¹

Thus Alcuin described the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793. It marked the beginning of a wave of attacks which continued throughout the ninth century and for the first half of the tenth. The Danish invaders eventually adopted Christianity and settled peacefully in Britain, but not before the Northumbrian church had taken a terrible toll of devastation with the sacking and plundering of many churches and monasteries, especially those in exposed places such as Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Wearmouth. Nevertheless, ecclesiastical life was not entirely obliterated, but rather was subject to a slow decline from its former splendour.

In order to identify what liturgy, if any, survived during this period of decline, it will be convenient to outline the history of some of the major Northumbrian institutions from the early eighth century until the Conquest. Inevitably such a history is fraught with obscurities and omissions, caused by the scarcity of source material and the absence of a contemporary chronicler such as Bede. Nevertheless, by an examination of internal evidence provided by surviving books from this period, supplemented by later historical accounts, it is possible to build up a reasonably coherent narrative. The institution with which we are most concerned is the monastery of Lindisfarne, together with its later manifestations at Chester-le-Street and Durham. In addition, it will be necessary to trace the development and survival of the cults of Northumbrian saints during this period.

¹*Ecce ecclesia sancti Cudberhti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa, omnibus spoliata ornamentis, locus cunctis in Brittania venerabilior, paganis gentibus datur addepredandum, et ubi primum post discessum santi Paulini ad Euboracia Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit initium, ibi miserie et calamitatis coepit exordium.* Latin version taken from Colin Chase (ed.), *Two Alcuin Letter-Books* (Toronto, 1975), p.54.

Our knowledge of the Lindisfarne community at this period is based on two main sets of sources. The first of these is a group of manuscripts, mostly liturgical or quasi-liturgical books, which originated in the Lindisfarne scriptorium, or were acquired elsewhere for use by the community. The second is a group of histories and saints' lives, some of which are contemporary, but most of which were compiled much later using local sources, both written and oral.

The primary sources are as follows. Firstly, a group of three Gospel-books dating from about the year 700 and almost certainly written in the Lindisfarne scriptorium: *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.iv); *The Durham Gospels* (Durham Cathedral Library MS A.II.17); and *The Echternach Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.9389). Next is the Lindisfarne *Liber Vitæ* (British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A.vii) which is not the original one kept at Lindisfarne, but a copy dating from the mid-ninth century. Finally, from the early tenth century there survive two books acquired by the community during its sojourn at Chester-le-Street: *King Athelstan's Book* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183) which contains the Life of St Cuthbert and a Mass and Office in his honour; and the so-called *Durham Ritual* (Durham Cathedral Library MS A.IV.19), a copy made in Wessex of a southern-French Collectar which was brought to Chester-le-Street c.970 by Aldred, who at that time was provost of the community.

The earliest of the secondary sources are three Lives of St Cuthbert dating from shortly after his death - one by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, and the other two (one in prose, the other metrical) by Bede; next is a Latin poem known as *De Abbatibus*, which was written at the end of the eighth century by Ethelwulf, a monk of an unknown cell of Lindisfarne; and finally, a group of chronicles dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, headed by Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and *Historia Regum*, supplemented by contemporary episcopal charters from Durham.

The death of St Cuthbert on 20 March, 687 marked the beginning of a cult which was to continue almost uninterrupted for the next 850 years until Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries and despoiled the shrines of England. The community responsible for guarding the relics of St Cuthbert and fostering the cult through the centuries originated in St Cuthbert's own monastery of Lindisfarne, founded in 635 by St Oswald, with St Aidan as its first abbot and bishop. For the first few years after Cuthbert's death there was probably no proper liturgical material for the saint, but it is almost certain that the annual commemoration of his death would have been observed with a night vigil culminating in Mass in the morning: there are accounts of such yearly observances in the cases of St Oswald² at Hexham and St Wilfrid³ at Ripon. During this period there was a steady increase of miracles of healing associated with prayers at Cuthbert's tomb, until in 698 it was decided to elevate the corpse to a position of greater prominence at the high altar. (This act of elevation, or translation, was the equivalent of canonisation before the process was abrogated to the papacy in the twelfth century.) Several important events are associated with this first translation. Firstly, a new lead roof was added to the wooden monastic church of Lindisfarne, and a carved oak chest (the remains of which may still be seen in the treasury of Durham Cathedral) was constructed to contain the relics. Secondly, the Lindisfarne Gospels were written at this time by Eadfrith, a monk of the community who became bishop shortly after the translation, and another Gospel book (the Echternach Gospels) was prepared, probably as a gift to St Willibrord, whose new monastery at Echternach was established in 698.

The history of the Lindisfarne Gospels is unusually well documented, thanks largely to an Anglo-Saxon colophon added when the book was at Chester-le-Street in the middle of the tenth century:

Eadfrith, bishop of the Lindisfarne Church, originally wrote this book, for God and for Saint Cuthbert and - jointly - for all the saints whose relics are in the island. And Ethelwald, Bishop of the Lindisfarne islanders, impressed it on the outside and

²Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book 3, chapter 2

³Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, p. 35.

covered it - as he well knew how to do. And Billfrith, the anchorite, forged the ornaments which are on it on the outside and adorned it with gold and with gems and also with gilded-over silver - pure metal. And Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest, glossed it in English between the lines with the help of God and Saint Cuthbert...⁴

This book, which is justly famous for its exquisite manuscript painting, may properly be described as a liturgical book. Its extremely high standard of craftsmanship and decoration show that it was not intended merely as a library copy, but for ceremonial use at the altar. This is confirmed by the fact that at the beginning of each of the four Gospels appears a *capitula lectionum*, which is a list of passages to be read during the liturgy, and also a list of festivals on which such passages should be read.

These lists of festivals unfortunately reveal little or nothing about the liturgical kalendar kept at Lindisfarne, since they were evidently copied directly from Eadfrith's exemplar, but are nevertheless valuable because of the information they impart concerning the provenance of the exemplar, which in turn demonstrates one of the sources of liturgical influence on Lindisfarne. Of the festivals included in these lists, many were universally observed, such as those of Christ and the apostles, but in the list preceding St Matthew's Gospel are references to the dedication of a basilica of St Stephen, and to a feast of St Januarius, whose name also appears in the list preceding St John's Gospel. These two festivals, taken in conjunction, point unequivocally to Naples, whose cathedral is dedicated to St Stephen, and where the relics of St Januarius were enshrined from the fifth century onwards. It remains to be explained how the monastery of Lindisfarne came to be in possession of a southern Italian Gospel-book, and whether it was acquired directly or through an intermediate channel.

It is not in itself surprising that the exemplar of the Lindisfarne Gospels should be Mediterranean, given the close contacts between Rome and Northumbria described in the preceding chapter. Lindisfarne was however a Celtic monastery in origin, and even after

⁴The Lindisfarne Gospels, f.259. The translation into modern English is taken from *The Lindisfarne Gospels* by Janet Backhouse (Oxford, 1981), p.7.

the Synod of Whitby's decision in favour of Roman customs in 664, and the resulting departure of Colman with all the Irish, and some English monks, it may be presumed that Celtic influence was not entirely eradicated. Indeed, the Lindisfarne Gospels were once thought to be related by filiation to similar Irish manuscripts, such as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells. More recent study of the Latin text of the Irish and Northumbrian books suggests that the latter slightly antedate the former, and that the principal influence is Mediterranean⁵. However, in the absence of any documentary evidence of direct contact between Lindisfarne and southern Italy, there are two equally-likely local intermediaries.

The first is St Wilfrid, who succeeded Cuthbert as bishop of Lindisfarne in 687, and is known to have favoured Roman rather than Celtic liturgical practices. The idea that he might have presented the monastery at Lindisfarne with an illuminated Gospel-book of continental origin is not entirely speculative, since in the 670's Wilfrid had provided just such a book for his monastery at Ripon, as described by Eddius Stephanus:

[He] provided for the adornment of the house of God a marvel of beauty hitherto unheard of in our times. For he had ordered, for the good of his soul, the four gospels to be written out in letters of purest gold on purpled parchment and illuminated. He also ordered jewellers to construct for the books a case made of purest gold set with most precious gems... all these things and others besides are preserved in our church until these times.⁶

The monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow provide the other likely source for the Lindisfarne exemplar, and here the evidence is more concrete, since a Gospel-book from the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium, known as the Stoneyhurst (or St Cuthbert) Gospel of St John, is known to have been given to the Lindisfarne community, as it accompanied the relics of St Cuthbert on their subsequent travels, and was still in the coffin at the time of the translation to the new shrine at Durham in 1104. The text of the Lindisfarne Gospels is that of the Vulgate, and it was almost certainly Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, who introduced the Vulgate to Northumbria. (The best surviving Vulgate text in the world is that of the Codex Amiatinus⁷,

⁵Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, p.36.

⁶Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, pp. 36-7.

⁷Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amiatinus I

copied at Wearmouth-Jarrow as a gift for the Pope.) Another manuscript which may have come to Lindisfarne from Wearmouth-Jarrow is the eighth-century copy of the Commentary on the Psalms by Cassiodorus Senator⁸. Its decoration (including two full-page frontispieces of King David as musician and warrior) shows the same Italo-Byzantine influence as that of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Two other Gospel-books attributed to the Lindisfarne scriptorium each provide important evidence of routes of liturgical influence. These are the Durham Gospels and the Echternach Gospels, and are closely linked to each other by having been produced by the same scribe. They are roughly contemporary with the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the Durham Gospels has corrections made by a scribe who has been identified as the one who made similar corrections to the Lindisfarne Gospels, as well as providing the rubrics. The Durham Gospels, though now incomplete and badly worn, was evidently intended for liturgical use, and other similarities with the Lindisfarne Gospels include the use of a fine insular majuscule script and magnificent illuminations, notably the initial page of St John's Gospel and a miniature at the end of St Matthew. (It may originally have included decorated carpet pages and evangelist symbols, as well as further initial pages and miniatures.) Like the Lindisfarne Gospels, it shared the later wanderings with the relics of St Cuthbert, and shows evidence of having been used liturgically at Chester-le-Street in the tenth century, in the form of musical notation added to part of St Luke's Gospel. (This will be discussed later in the present chapter.) From the relative states of preservation of the two books, it is tempting to speculate that the Durham Gospels may have been intended for the every-day liturgical use of the Lindisfarne community, while the Lindisfarne Gospels were reserved for the most solemn festivals, such as that of St Cuthbert.

The attribution of the Echternach Gospels to the Lindisfarne scriptorium, and the identification of its scribe as that of the Durham Gospels have only recently been accepted⁹. It was once thought to be of Irish origin, due mainly to the resemblance of some of its

⁸Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.II.30. See Helmut Gneuss, "Preliminary list of MSS written or owned in England up to 1100" in *Anglo-Saxon England* ix, pp.1-61.

⁹See Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, p.38.

decoration to that of the Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College MS A.4.5(57)), but indeed the Irish origin of this manuscript itself has been questioned, with Northumbria or Iona suggested as possible places of origin¹⁰. The fact that the monastery of Echternach certainly possessed the Gospels of that name in the fifteenth century, and probably for many centuries earlier, led some scholars to assume that it had been produced by that monastery's own scriptorium, but the identification of the scribe as that of the Durham Gospels seems to rule this out. The most convincing argument, and the one now generally accepted, is that the Gospel-book was written at Lindisfarne in the last years of the seventh century or early in the eighth, as a fraternal gift to St Willibrord, who was himself a Northumbrian, in honour of some special occasion, such as the elevation of St Cuthbert's relics, or the dedication of Willibrord's monastery at Echternach or cathedral at Utrecht. If this is true it amplifies existing evidence¹¹ of direct liturgical contact between Northumbria and Frisia. However, this is not the only route of influence revealed by the Echternach Gospels. A colophon copied from the exemplar states that its text had been corrected using a Vulgate manuscript which had once been in the possession of St Jerome. This demonstrates another direct link between Rome and Northumbria, with Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith or Wilfrid again being the most likely intermediaries. Furthermore, the desire to obtain the best textual exemplars having the closest links with the apostolic age has an obvious counterpart in the musical policy of the Northumbrian abbots discussed in the previous chapter.

So far this discussion has centered on Gospel-books which, despite their function as liturgical books, generally contain little of a localised liturgical nature. It should not be assumed, however, that Gospels were the only books brought from Italy to Northumbria and thence to Frisia. The survival of such early Gospel texts may be largely due to their extremely impressive illumination, and the enduring nature of the text itself: a good Vulgate Gospel could be used for almost any Latin liturgy until the present day (at least in theory), whereas most other types of liturgical books (sacramentaries,

¹⁰Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, p.39.

¹¹cf. Peter Clemons, *The Cult of St Oswald on the Continent*. (Jarrow, 1986)

antiphoners, etc.) eventually became obsolete with the introduction of new feasts, the elaboration or simplification of ceremonies, or the composition of new chants. Another possible reason for the relatively good survival of Gospels in Britain is that, being of a purely scriptural nature, they stood a lesser risk of falling prey to the iconoclastic ravages of the Reformation.

There is no direct evidence of liturgical books other than Gospels being sent from Northumbria to the German missions, but the twin monasteries of Tegernsee and Immunster in Bavaria are known to have possessed a Northumbrian kalendar of the mid-eighth century, which may once have belonged to a sacramentary¹². The grounds for such an assertion are that the liturgy for the patrons of these Bavarian monasteries drew upon the characteristic mass collects for both St Cuthbert and St Oswald, which (at least in the case of St Cuthbert) were almost certainly formulated at Lindisfarne shortly after St Cuthbert's death.

In terms of direct liturgical influence on other British monasteries there is little trace, due to the dearth of surviving insular books from this period, but another German book seems to point to an early diffusion in Wessex of liturgy for St Cuthbert. In 744 the monastery of Fulda was founded by St Boniface, a native of Wessex who had previously assisted St Willibrord in the evangelisation of Frisia. In the earliest surviving sacramentary of Fulda (dating from the tenth century)¹³ is found the whole of the early form of the Mass of St Cuthbert (Collect, Secret, Postcommunion, Preface and *Super Populum*), and the most likely agent to have brought this Mass to Fulda is Boniface himself, who is known to have ordered manuscripts from Wessex for use in his mission; one such book was a copy of the Epistle of St Peter written in letters of gold, which he ordered from the abbey of Minster-in-Thanet in 735/6. An alternative explanation for the presence of St Cuthbert's Mass in the sacramentary of Fulda is that St Boniface found it already in use in St Willibrord's monastery of Echternach, with which Boniface

¹²cf. Hohler, *The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert*, p.158. The kalendar in question (which Hohler does not identify) is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 10837 (see Gneuss, "Preliminary list of MSS").

¹³Printed as *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, edited by G. Richter & A. Schonfelder (Fulda, 1912).

maintained close contact throughout his life. If this were true it would weaken the case for the early diffusion of Cuthbertian liturgy in Wessex, but reinforce the case already presented for contacts between Northumbria and Frisia. In any case, the relatively late date of the sacramentary of Fulda should not be seen as an insuperable obstacle to placing the date of transmission in the eighth century: the early date is supported by a further piece of circumstantial evidence, in the form of a chapel in the crypt at Fulda which was dedicated to St Cuthbert when the magnificent Romanesque church was consecrated in 819, suggesting that the cult of St Cuthbert at Fulda was already well established at that time.

The next well-documented occurrence in the history of Lindisfarne was the first Danish invasion of 793, and Alcuin's graphic description of this event is quoted at the beginning of the present chapter. The raid must have had a profoundly unsettling effect on the Lindisfarne community, bringing the realisation that their island site, whilst affording them a welcome degree of seclusion from the mainland, rendered them doubly vulnerable to attack from the sea. On a spiritual level too, it must have been enormously tempting for the monks to interpret such a disaster as a manifestation of the wrath of God, in punishment of real or imagined corruption or laxity in their monastic observance.

Whether the despoiling of ornaments to which Alcuin refers included the destruction of liturgical books we cannot tell, but at least the Gospel-books have survived as witnesses to the skill of earlier Lindisfarne scribes. There is certainly an almost total lack of surviving books from ninth-century Northumbria, but whether this should be attributed to the massive destruction of books incurred in this and subsequent Viking raids, or a virtual cessation of scribal activity, is open to question. Nevertheless, one book, which might be described as being of a "quasi-liturgical" nature, amply demonstrates that the Lindisfarne scriptorium did not immediately cease to function, and that the scribal and decorative skills of previous generations were not entirely eradicated.

The manuscript in question is the *Liber Vitae* of Lindisfarne¹⁴, a ninth-century copy of an earlier book which is itself well

¹⁴British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A.vii.

documented. When Eadfrith asked Bede to compose the Prose Life of St Cuthbert in the early eighth century, he promised in return that Bede's name should be inscribed in the *Liber Vitae* by the sacrist, Guthfrith. The basic purpose of this type of book was to record the names of friends and benefactors of a particular institution, but it also had a ceremonial function. Originally, the names inscribed in the *Liber Vitae* would be read out during the Canon of the Mass, at the *memento* of the living or the dead, whichever was appropriate (Bede records an example of a name of a man recently deceased being added to the list of names read out during Mass). In the course of time, the proliferation of names rendered impracticable their individual mention, so instead the book was placed on the altar during the celebration of Mass. (This has a more recent counterpart in the practice of placing on the altar the names of deceased relatives and benefactors during Mass on All Souls' Day, when the number would be too great to mention individually during the Canon.) Although the original book kept by Guthfrith has not survived, a copy made at Lindisfarne in the middle of the ninth century is the sole surviving witness to the activity of the Lindisfarne scriptorium at that time. The reason for having the copy made is not known: perhaps the original was damaged during a Viking raid or was too small to accommodate the growing list of names, but whatever the reason, the result was a splendid book written in letters of gold and silver, and a worthy descendant of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Its usefulness to the historian is obvious, in that it enables him to name the early members of the Lindisfarne community, to trace the line of episcopal succession, and to identify fraternal links with other monasteries. One such link which is significant for the present discussion is that between Lindisfarne and Wearmouth-Jarrow: as well as Bede's name (folio 18v), the names of Benedict Biscop (f.17) and Ceolfrith (f.15v) are also included. Another function of the *Liber Vitae* is that it enables the historian to check the veracity of statements made in later sources concerning members of the early community. For instance, when Aldred states in his colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels that the book was written by Bishop Eadfrith, bound by Bishop Ethelwald and ornamented by Billfrith the Anchorite, it is possible to check these names against the appropriate lists in the

Liber Vitae. The three names do indeed appear in their correct categories, and although this does not prove beyond doubt that Aldred's statement is true (Durham Cathedral Priory later produced a plethora of forged documents which preserved a high degree of historical accuracy), it does at least increase the likelihood of its veracity.

The next source to be considered is a secondary one, Ethelwulf's poem *De Abbatibus*. The date at which the poem was written is indicated by its apparent dedication to Egbert, who was bishop of Lindisfarne from 803 to 821. Although it concerns an unspecified cell of Lindisfarne (the abbots mentioned in the poem— Eanmund, Eorpwine, Aldwine, Sigbald, Sigwine & Wulfsig— do not correspond to any of the abbots listed in the *Liber Vitae*) it may be assumed that its liturgical practices would closely reflect those of the mother house¹⁵. The poem states that during the reign of King Osred (705-716), Eanmund, a Northumbrian monastic founder who had already gathered around him a sizeable number of monks, consulted Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (and scribe of the Lindisfarne Gospels) about the composition of a rule and instruction of his monks. Eadfrith sent him a priest of his own community to carry out these tasks, which is one reason for assuming uniformity of practice between the two monasteries. The poem's chief relevance to the present chapter lies in its reference to the building of a Lady Chapel, and to the introduction of new Marian festivals; also its mention of sung mass and matins.

Having described how Eanmund obtained assistance from Lindisfarne in composing a Rule and instructing the monks, the poem goes on to tell the story of the construction of the church, dedicated to St Peter (as indeed was the church at Lindisfarne). There is

¹⁵Thomas Arnold, editor of the poem for the Rolls Series under the title *Carmen Ædelwulfi*, makes out a persuasive case that the cell concerned is that of Crayke, north of York. He uses internal evidence from the poem itself, the main argument being that a reference to the *clerus in urbe* (chapter xv, line 33) indicates the secular canons of nearby York Minster. (*Symeonis Monachi Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1882), vol. 1, pp. xxxii-xxxix. [hereafter *Symeon*])

evidence of a devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the description of the interior decoration of the church:

On the right the Virgin and mother of the Ruler is seen to stand, and at the Divine command supports the heavens and the earth¹⁶.

Ethelwulf later describes the building of a magnificent Lady Chapel by the fourth abbot, Sigbald (who died in 771), and states that on festivals of the Blessed Virgin, Sigbald used to sing Mass in this chapel. Four such festivals are described in the poem, but not without a certain ambiguity as to which are meant:

Whenever he kept a holy day in which the Virgin Mary merited to enter, flying, into the high heavens,
Or when she was made mother of the redeemer of the world,
Or when she gave birth to the joys of the most beautiful life,
Or when she merited to bring forth the high-throned thunderer...¹⁷

Three scholars who have most recently examined this text have reached different conclusions concerning the Marian feasts in question. A. Campbell, who edited the poem in 1967¹⁸, considered the feasts to be the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ. Henry Mayr-Harting in 1972¹⁹ interpreted them as the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Purification and the Annunciation. Finally, Mary Clayton²⁰ disagreed with both, offering the suggestion of the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Sunday before Christmas (feast of the divine maternity), and the Annunciation. The most likely reading seems to be Clayton's, since none of the descriptions seems to fit that of the Purification, and Christmas was never considered to be a feast of Mary. In this case it demonstrates that the feasts which had reached Rome from the East

¹⁶*A dextris Virgo et genitrix adstare videtur
Rectoris celos terras qui (sic) et numine portat. De Abbatibus, ch. VII
(Symeon, vol. 1, p.273).*

¹⁷*sanctam cumque diem sacrauit virgo Maria,
qua volitans cælos meruit penetrare per altos,
vel qua presenti generata redditur orbi,
vel qua prepulchræ susceptat gaudia vitæ,
vel qua celsithronum meruit generare tonantem.*

¹⁸A. Campbell (ed.), *Æthelwulf 'De Abbatibus'* (Oxford, 1967)

¹⁹H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972).

²⁰"Feasts of the Virgin in the liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church", *Anglo-Saxon England* xiii, pp.209-233.



in the middle of the seventh century were known in Northumbria in the later eighth century. It is perhaps surprising, however, that Ethelwulf suggests that these feasts had been hitherto unknown in his monastery, and thus by implication in Lindisfarne too. The relevant passage says that Sigbald "pressed the monks gently with prayers to celebrate solemn festivals for joyfully honouring the pious mother". This may mean that the contact with Italy which Lindisfarne undoubtedly had (albeit through the medium of Wearmouth-Jarrow), may have reflected a stage of the Roman liturgy before the introduction of these Marian feasts (though Bede seems to have been aware of them earlier in the seventh century); or simply that they were unknown at Lindisfarne at the time when Eanmund founded his cell. An alternative interpretation of this passage in *De Abbatibus* is that the feasts were previously known to Sigbald's community, but that he had acquired books which actually made liturgical provision for them.

Not long after the monks of Lindisfarne had returned to the island to rebuild their monastery following the Viking raid of 793, they were again forced to flee to the mainland by the threat of further attacks. This time, Ecgred the bishop took the decisive step of taking with them their most treasured relics, amongst which the body of St Cuthbert was the most important. This first flight from Lindisfarne was largely ignored by the later Durham chroniclers (notably Symeon of Durham), but despite its temporary nature, it included at least one significant element. This was a translation of the relics of St Cuthbert to Norham on 4 September, 830, and it seems that from this time onwards, a new feast of translation was kept on 4 September. Moreover, this was the date chosen for subsequent, more important translations of the relics (culminating in the solemn translation to the shrine in the Durham Cathedral Priory in 1104). It is worth noting that despite its being ignored by Symeon, this episode was evidently known to the author of a forged diploma of Bishop William of St Calais concerning the foundation and endowment of the monastery of Durham, which otherwise follows Symeon very closely. The relevant passage is as follows:

Duas quoque ecclesias, Lindisfarnensem scilicet que sedes primitus fuit episcopalis²¹, et Norham quam ipse ibi corpore quiescendo illustraverat.

After this episode the monks again returned to Lindisfarne, but it was not long before the next wave of sacking and pillaging began. This time the Danish victories were more decisive, and one by one the kingdoms of England fell under their power: York in 867, East Anglia in 870, Wessex in 871, and finally Northumbria in 873. By the year 875, every church in Bernicia had been pillaged by the invaders, and rather than remaining to face such an attack, the monks of Lindisfarne under their bishop Eardwulf once more took flight with the body of St Cuthbert. For the next eight years their wanderings took them as far as Whithorn, Hoddum and Melrose in the north, and Crayke in the south. At one stage there was even a plan to flee to Ireland, but this was frustrated by storms (and by divine intervention according to Symeon's account). Finally, in 883 Eardwulf established his see at Chester-le-Street (Kuncacester), where it was to remain until 995. This settlement at Chester-le-Street marked a period of relative stability amid the turbulence of the political situation. The Danes were beginning to adopt Anglo-Saxon customs, including Christianity in some cases: King Alfred in 878 had driven the Danes from Wessex (an achievement which he attributed to the powerful intercession of St Cuthbert), and led Guthrum their leader to baptism. In Northumbria, the Danish leader Halfdan, who had been responsible for plundering all the churches, was succeeded by Guthred, who actually granted lands between the Tyne and Wear to the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street.

When the remnant of the monastic community of Lindisfarne fled with the relics of St Cuthbert and other Northumbrian saints, as well as perpetuating the cult of these saints, they also preserved the line of episcopal succession from Lindisfarne, thus enabling later bishops of Durham to claim direct descent from St Aidan. One inevitable result of many years of nomadic wandering with the relics was that conventual monastic life gradually disappeared, since one of its essential requirements is stability of place. However, there is a remarkable piece of evidence which suggests that the Community of

²¹H. S. Offler (ed.), *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152*, Surtees Society vol. CLXXIX (Gateshead, 1968), p.8.

St Cuthbert preserved intact the monastic *cursus* of psalmody. The evidence in question is found in Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, and is all the more reliable because Symeon seems to have had a vested interest in denigrating the Community of St Cuthbert by stressing their un-monastic way of life, in order to justify their enforced removal in 1083 to be replaced by Benedictine monks. The relevant passage is as follows:

They were called clerics, but neither in habit nor in conversation did they lay claim to the clerical state. In singing the hours they held to the order of psalms instituted according to the Rule of St Benedict, observing in this alone the paternal tradition transmitted to them from the first by the institutions of monks²².

Following the reign of Alfred the Great, the kingdom of Wessex was in the ascendant, and in 927 King Athelstan came north to Penrith to obtain acknowledgement of his overlordship from the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde, and from the Lord of Bamburgh, exacting from them also a promise to eradicate idolatry. When in 934 it became necessary for Athelstan to return in order to quell a Scottish uprising, he visited the Community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, and made rich offerings at the shrine. The original document recording these gifts is not extant, but they were listed in detail by a twelfth-century Durham chronicler who must have had access to the original:

[Athelstan's gifts to St Cuthbert]

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, I, Athelstan the king, give to St Cuthbert this text of the Gospels, two chasubles, and one alb, and one stole, with a maniple, and one girdle, and three altar cloths, and one silver chalice, and two pattens, one gilded, the other wrought with Greek work, and one silver thurible, and one cross skilfully wrought in gold and ivory, and one skull-cap woven with gold, and two tablets made of gold and silver, and two silver candelabra, gilded, and one missal, and two texts of the Gospels decorated with gold and silver, and one Life of St Cuthbert, written in verse and in prose, and seven palls, and three basins, and three tapestries, and two cups covered with silver, and four great bells, and three horns, wrought of gold and silver, and two banners, and one lance, and two gold

²²*Clerici vocabantur, sed nec habitu nec conversatione clericatum pretendebant. Ordinem psalmorum in canendis horis secundum regulam sancti Benedicti institutum tenuerunt, hoc solum a primis institutoribus monachorum per paternam traditionem sibi transmissam servantes. Symeon, vol. I, p.8.*

bracelets, and my beloved town of South Wearmouth with its appurtenances...etc.²³

This list is of great interest for several reasons. Firstly it gives a detailed picture of the books, vestments and altar furniture associated with the celebration of Mass in the early tenth century. Secondly it provides concrete evidence for the migration of liturgical books from Wessex to Northumbria. Finally, the present-day survival of some of the articles listed not only reinforces the authenticity of the list, but also, by an examination of their later history, proves that the articles were actually used by the community to whom they were given.

The fact that King Athelstan's gifts were almost all associated directly or indirectly with the celebration of Mass might be taken to imply that the liturgical provision before this time was in some way deficient. At first sight this does indeed seem likely, given that the community had left their monastery in haste more than fifty years previously, not knowing if they would ever return, and taking with them only what they considered the most precious treasures (yet it could be argued that these would be precisely those things pertaining most closely to the Mass). Of the four liturgical books included in the list, three are Gospel-books (compared with only one missal), and this demonstrates once more the high regard in which decorated Gospel-books were held. Perhaps the most interesting item, however, is one which from its description in the list might not appear to be a liturgical book at all: this is the Life of St Cuthbert, which fortunately survives as the manuscript known today as King

²³*In nomine domini nostri Ihesu christi. Ego Ethelstanus rex do sancto Cuthberto hunc textum Evangeliorum, II casulas, et unam albam, et unam stolam, cum manipulo, et unum cingulum, et III altaris cooperimenta, et unum calicem argenteum, et duas patenas, alteram auro paratam, alteram Græco opere fabrefactam, et unum thuribulum argenteum, et unam crucem auro et ebore artificiose paratam, et unum regium pilleum auro textum, et duas tabulas, auro et argento fabrefactas, et duo candelabra argentea, auro parata, et unum missalem, et duos Evangeliorum textus, auro et argento ornatos, et unam sancti Cuthberti vitam, metricè et prosaice scriptam, et septem pallia, et tres cortinas, et tria tapetia, et duas coppas argenteas cum cooperculis, et quatuor magnas campanas, et tria cornua, auro et argento fabrefacta, et duo vexilla, et unam lanceam, et duas armillas aureas, et meam villam dilectam Wiremuthe australem cum suis appendiciis...(Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, ch.26: Symeon, vol. 1, p.211)*

Athelstan's Book (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183)²⁴. As well as Bede's prose and metrical versions of the Life of St Cuthbert, it also contains a liturgical supplement written in the main scribal hand (and therefore contemporary with it), which consists of a Mass and Office for St Cuthbert, without musical notation. It might seem rather strange that the community responsible for fostering the cult of St Cuthbert should be the recipient of such a gift, rather than the donor, since the main centre of a cult is the obvious place at which Proper liturgy might be expected to be composed. Can we indeed assume, as previous scholars have done (notably Christopher Hohler²⁵ and Susan Rankin²⁶), that the Office contained in King Athelstan's Book was a product of Wessex, and was definitely not composed by the community of St Cuthbert? And even if this particular Office was not of northern origin, can we be sure that there was not already an earlier Northumbrian Office of St Cuthbert in use at Chester-le-Street?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it will be expedient to define what we mean by the term "Office", and to summarise what is known of the composition of Offices during the period in question. In the case of the Office of St Cuthbert contained in King Athelstan's Book, the term means the full provision of Proper lessons, responsories, antiphons and hymns for all the liturgical hours of the feast of St Cuthbert, beginning with First Vespers and ending with Second Vespers. Furthermore, the texts of the antiphons and responsories are rhymed, and their melodies organised in ascending modal order. This type of rhymed or versified Office in modal order became increasingly popular throughout the Middle Ages, until by the time of the Council of Trent something in excess of five thousand such Offices had been composed, but at the beginning of the tenth century they were an exceedingly new and rare phenomenon. The earliest examples date from about the year 900, and are Frankish in origin. Of these, the best known are those attributed to Stephen of

²⁴A detailed description of this manuscript is given by Susan Rankin in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982), pp.2-6.

²⁵"The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert," p.157

²⁶*Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, p.5

Liège (for the Trinity and the Finding of St Stephen)²⁷ and Hucbald (for St Peter)²⁸.

In answer to the first question posed above, as to whether the Cuthbert Office could have been composed by the community at Chester-le-Street, it must be admitted that this seems unlikely in the light of existing evidence. On the other hand, just because a copy of the Office was donated to the community by King Athelstan, this does not necessarily mean that the Office was previously unknown to them. If we examine the other items in the list of Athelstan's donations, we know for instance that the community possessed at least two other fine copies of the Gospels (namely the Lindisfarne and the Durham Gospels), yet Athelstan gave three further copies. Likewise it is almost inconceivable that they possessed neither a missal nor a copy of Bede's Lives of St Cuthbert (which a previous bishop of Lindisfarne had commissioned). In developing this argument further, I am aware of the pitfalls of speculation which is based on scanty manuscript evidence. But it can sometimes be just as dangerous to make negative assumptions based on the quite arbitrary survival of one or two manuscripts. Hohler's argument concerning the Office of St Cuthbert is that, because a copy of it was given by King Athelstan, it probably originated in the Wessex court chapel of Athelstan or his father; because the first examples of such Offices are found in the Low Countries, it was probably written for Athelstan by a Frankish clerk; and because the copy is defective and lacks music, the Office is unlikely to have been sung in the north until after the Conquest. These conclusions were accepted by Susan Rankin, who moreover stated that the manuscript "was probably never used as a liturgical book."²⁹ This goes one step further than Hohler, who says that "King Athelstan's book appears to have been rescued from obscurity and its services tried out by the first Norman bishop [of Durham], Walcher." It is true that Hohler had circumstantial evidence to support his argument: the earliest surviving notated version of the Office of St Cuthbert³⁰, dating from

²⁷See Richard L. Crocker, "Matins Antiphons at St. Denis," *JAMS* XXXIX (1986), pp.441-490.

²⁸See Rembert Weakland, "The Compositions of Hucbald," *Études gregoriennes*, III (1959) pp.155-62.

²⁹*Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700*, p.5.

³⁰London, British Library MS 1117

the last years of the tenth century, was thought by Hohler to be from a monastery in Wessex, possibly Sherborne (this manuscript has more recently been attributed to Christ Church, Canterbury³¹), whereas the earliest surviving copy known to have been written in Northumbria dates from the middle of the twelfth century.

As an alternative to Hohler's view of the composition and dissemination of the Office of St Cuthbert, the following theory is suggested. It seems reasonable to assume that, after the settlement in Chester-le-Street in 883, the traditions of liturgy and chant practised on Lindisfarne had not been altogether lost, and that a high priority for the Community of St Cuthbert would have been to honour their patron with more elaborate music and liturgy. There is no reason to believe that Northumbria was entirely isolated from ecclesiastical developments on the Continent at the beginning of the tenth century, and it is not impossible that the Office of St Cuthbert was composed at Chester-le-Street, using one of the new Frankish Rhymed Offices as a model. This immediately raises a number of general questions concerning the manner in which such Offices were composed. For instance, did the composition of the text always precede that of the music, or were words and music conceived simultaneously as a single entity? Were Rhymed Offices always associated with neumatic notation from the beginning, or was there a period of oral transmission?

Concerning the composition of the text, we know that the necessary source material was available to the Community in the form of Bede's Lives of St Cuthbert and the Anonymous Life. It might be expected that the most obvious source for a Rhymed Office would have been Bede's Metrical Life, but in fact the text of the Cuthbert Office as contained in King Athelstan's Book and subsequent manuscripts is not borrowed wholesale from this or either of the other Lives, but is rather an original composition freely based on these sources. (In the case of the lessons for matins, these are indeed drawn directly from the Lives of St Cuthbert, but the lessons are not usually included in the metrical part of the Office.) As to whether the music was composed separately from the text, the most useful guide is the internal evidence provided by analysis of the text

³¹See Rankin, "Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Musicologie Médiévale: Notations et Séquences* (Paris 1987), p.142.

and music themselves. In the present case, the close connection which is evident between words and music suggests that the entire Office may have been conceived as a single entity (and therefore composed by only one person).

The question of musical notation is particularly relevant in the present case, precisely because the earliest source of the Office of St Cuthbert (i.e. King Athelstan's Book) lacks notation, whereas another source of the same Office from Christ Church, Canterbury (London, British Library Harley MS 1117), which dates from the end of the tenth century, is fully notated. As was stated above, Hohler and Rankin argued that King Athelstan's Book was unlikely to have been used liturgically because of its lack of notation. In order to assess the validity of this argument, we must consider the present state of knowledge about English musical notation in the tenth century. Susan Rankin has stated that "The history of insular notation before 980 is totally obscure; we are confronted not only by a lack of examples of notated music, but worse, by an almost total lack of insular service-books."³² Since the earliest extant insular notation dates from the end of the tenth century, any theories concerning notation earlier in the tenth century must remain tentative. Susan Rankin concluded from her study of insular neumes, that the musical hands of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were quite individual and clearly insular, and that this makes it very difficult to establish a definite link between place of origin and style³³. Concerning the Continental models for insular notation, Rankin is of the opinion that these are undoubtedly northern French, and that the most likely period of transmission was during the Benedictine revival of the mid-tenth century. She further concludes that musical notation may not have been used in England before this time.

In the case of the Northumbrian sources, it is noteworthy that all the earliest examples of notation are associated with the Community of St Cuthbert, and occur as additions to manuscripts of an earlier date. The sources in question are as follows: Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.II.17 (the Durham Gospels, described earlier in the present chapter), to which inter-linear adiaستمatic neumes

³²Rankin, "Neumatic Notations," p. 131.

³³Rankin, "Neumatic Notations," pp.130, 132.

were added to f.74v in the late tenth century, while the book was at Chester-le-Street; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183 (King Athelstan's Book), to which a sequence for St Cuthbert was added to f.96v in the late tenth or early eleventh century (probably at Durham, since the Community of St Cuthbert moved there from Chester-le-Street in 995); and Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.IV.19 (the "Durham Ritual", a Collectar brought to Chester-le-Street from Wessex in the mid-tenth century), in which inter-linear adiaستمatic neumes were added in the margin of p.94 in the mid-eleventh century.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the circumstances surrounding the addition of neumes to these manuscripts. Firstly, the Community of St Cuthbert had acquired the ability to write neumatic notation by the end of the tenth century. Secondly, although the second and third of the sources listed above were brought to Chester-le-Street from Wessex, they were not the means of transmitting knowledge of notation to Northumbria, since they contained no notation at the time of their migration. Thirdly, these sources show no direct evidence of systematic or comprehensive notation. In fact, the neumes here are almost literally marginal, but it must be remembered that the survival of these sources is arbitrary, and that they cannot be considered as representative of Northumbrian service-books of the tenth century.

Returning to the question of the liturgical use of King Athelstan's Book, it is obviously possible for a source lacking notation to be used liturgically, since this is what must have happened for many centuries before the development of notation. Furthermore, the survival of a copy without notation does not necessarily rule out the possibility of a lost manuscript which did contain neumes. However, until more is known about the origins of notation, it would be rash to derive anything more than the most tentative conclusions from the presence or absence of neumes in a particular manuscript. In the case of King Athelstan's Book, we have seen that notation was provided for a sequence for St Cuthbert, added c.1000, but this knowledge of notation was evidently not used to provide notation for the Office of St Cuthbert contained in the same manuscript. There are several possible explanations for this

omission: firstly, that the music of the Cuthbert Office was not known at this time, and therefore could not be notated; secondly, that the Office was fully notated elsewhere, and thus there was no reason to add neumes to King Athelstan's Book, which may have been regarded more as a secondary relic of St Cuthbert than as a liturgical book; or finally, that the music of the Cuthbert Office was so well-known through memory and oral transmission, that there was no perceived need to write it down at this stage. In attempting to assess which of these theories is most plausible, it should be held in consideration that in the case of adiastematic neumes, the process of memorising (or improvising) chants had not yet been eliminated, since the neumes could not be accurately read without a prior knowledge of the melody represented (this becomes obvious from any attempt to transcribe such neumes without the help of a later version in staff notation, or at least in accurately heightened neumes). Thus it may be anachronistic to talk of liturgical use or otherwise when discussing early notation, if its purpose was to create an "archive copy" by committing to record a particular version of a living oral tradition.

Regarding the three possible explanations, given above, for the lack of contemporary notation in King Athelstan's Book, the most unlikely seems to be the idea that the music for the Office remained unknown throughout the tenth century (and most of the eleventh) by the very community for whom it was most relevant. The second theory, that the book needed no notation since it was a royal gift intended to be kept with the relics of St Cuthbert, is more plausible, but if this were the case, why should a sequence with notation have been added at the end of the tenth century? The idea that there existed a contemporary, fully-notated version of the Office is tempting, but fails to stand up under scrutiny. If such a copy was among King Athelstan's gifts, why was it not included in the list of donations? Or if the notated copy already existed at Chester-le-Street and was lent to Athelstan as the exemplar for his gift, why should the notation have been omitted from his copy? There is a further detail which is of relevance to this argument. Hohler demonstrated that several later (notated) copies of the Office of St Cuthbert are textually dependent on the version in King Athelstan's Book, since they all perpetuate a scribal error contained in that manuscript. It

seems unlikely that a defective copy without music would be used as an exemplar for later copies if another notated version was in existence. The most likely proposition, therefore, is that the early history of the Office of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street was one of oral transmission, and the lack of notation in King Athelstan's Book does not necessarily exclude the possibility that it may have been used liturgically during the tenth century.

An intriguing question which arises from the foregoing discussion is this: how did the Community of St Cuthbert acquire their knowledge of notation in the tenth century? Unfortunately, there is no external evidence which might provide an answer to this question. It is possible to trace the routes by which the three notated service-books came to Chester-le-Street (King Athelstan's Book and the Durham Ritual both from Wessex, and the Durham Gospels from Lindisfarne, and previously from Wearmouth-Jarrow), but none were notated until they were in the possession of the Community of St Cuthbert. Hence, as was stated above, these books were not the means by which notation was brought to Northumbria. This leaves three possibilities: that notation was imported by means of notated manuscripts, now lost; that the ability to write neumes was taught by a visiting cantor, in ways similar to those described in Chapter One; or that knowledge of notation was acquired by a member of the Chester-le-Street community while travelling abroad or in England. It is impossible to prove which of these is the true explanation, but one piece of circumstantial evidence seems to point to the last of the three possibilities. This evidence comes from the Durham Ritual, in the form of a note added to f. 167 of the manuscript by Aldred, the glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The note accompanies four collects for St Cuthbert, and reveals that the collects were written by Aldred the Provost for Bishop Ælfsige, on the feast of St Laurence, at a place named Oakley, when the moon was in its fifth night. This information enabled Lindelöf to date the inscription to the year 970, on the basis that this was the only year during Ælfsige's episcopate (968-990) in which the feast of St

Laurence (10 August) coincided with the fifth night of the moon³⁴. Lindelöf also identified Oakley as a place in Wessex between Salisbury and Blandford. Thus, from Aldred's seemingly insignificant note, it is possible to learn that the two most senior members of the Community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, that is, the Bishop and the Provost, made a journey to Wessex, taking with them at least one liturgical book, to which further liturgical additions were made while on their journey. Furthermore, it may be noted that the date in question coincides almost exactly with the earliest surviving examples of musical notation in insular sources.

Finally, there remains the possibility that the internal evidence of the notation will enable the neumes to be traced to a particular scriptorium, or school of notation. The neumes added to f.74v of the Durham Gospels in the late tenth century, were examined by David Hiley, who describes them as being inter-linear adiastematic neumes of an unusual type, in that they were not identifiable with any of the known insular types (such as those of the Winchester scriptorium), but rather exhibited a combination of German and French characteristics.³⁵ In describing the notation of the sequence, which was added to King Athelstan's Book in c.1000, Susan Rankin notes that the upward stroke of the neumes has a slope to the right which is unlike any other examples of insular notation from the same period³⁶. The only possible exception is a part of one of the Winchester Tropers (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473), but even here the neumes never reach the same degree of inclination. Furthermore, the *litteræ significativæ* (letters added to neumes in order to clarify melodic or rhythmic details) used in King Athelstan's Book differ in meaning from those used in the Winchester books³⁷. Other clues as to the provenance of the notation are given by the text and melody of *Hodiernus sacrator*, the sequence added to King Athelstan's Book. The text, although unique in England, was used in French and Italian sources for other saints, and is almost certainly of

³⁴See U. Lindelöf (ed.), *The Durham Ritual* (Surtees Society CXL; 1927), especially the introduction.

³⁵*The Durham Gospels*, ed. T.J. Brown (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 20; 1980). See p.35 for Hiley's description.

³⁶*Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, p.5.

³⁷*Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, p.6.

Italian origin.³⁸ The melody is the well-known *Iustus ut palma, maior*, which was used for at least twenty-six different sequence texts, mainly in Italian and German sources. Hohler and Rankin both concluded, on the strength of this evidence, that the text and music of the sequence were probably of Italian origin. If this is true, it implies that the links between Northumbria and Italy, which were forged by Northumbrian monastic founders in the seventh century, may have continued, or at least have been re-established, in the tenth century, and may have provided one of the routes by which notation was brought to Northumbria.

The final resting-place of the relics of St Cuthbert was reached in 995, when the guardians of the shrine were once again forced to move, this time from Chester-le-Street to Durham, under the threat of Danish raids. The shrine was re-established at Durham, at first in a wooden church, and later in a more permanent stone structure (this Anglo-Saxon church was eventually demolished to make way for the present Romanesque building, which was begun in 1093). Throughout the eleventh century, the members of the Community of St Cuthbert evidently maintained the musical and liturgical customs of their ancestors from Lindisfarne, as the following passage from Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis* relates:

And they, having themselves been taught by monks, always exactly preserved, in the offices of the diurnal and nocturnal praises, the custom which was handed down. Whence the whole succession of their descendants maintained the custom of singing the hours according to the tradition of monks, rather than that of seculars, up to the time of Bishop Walcher, just as we have often heard them, and as we are wont to hear not a few of those descendants constantly narrating.

(*Moremque sibi a monachis doctoribus traditum in officiis duntaxat diurne vel nocturne laudis semper servarunt. Unde tota nepotum suorum successio magis secundum instituta monachorum quam clericorum consuetudinem canendi horas, usque ad tempus Walcheri episcopi, paterna traditio observavit, sicut eos canentes sepe audivimus, et usque nonnullos de illa progenie narrantes audire solemus.*) Symeon, vol. 1, p. 57.

³⁸cf. Hohler, "The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert", pp.158-9.

It is evident from this passage that Symeon, although writing at the beginning of the twelfth century, had not only the full authority of oral tradition behind him, but also, apparently, his own first-hand experience.

KALENDAR EVIDENCE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF NORTHUMBRIAN SAINTS' CULTS

Another way in which Northumbrian liturgy was kept alive through the years of Viking raids was in the observance of feasts of Northumbrian saints. A major factor in the promotion of these feasts was the writing of Bede- *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Historia Abbatum* and the two versions of *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*- whose extensive circulation throughout Britain and on the Continent ensured that seventh-century Northumbrian saints were widely revered, even when their own centres of devotion had been destroyed. Evidence for the observance of Northumbrian feasts is found in pre-Conquest liturgical kalendars from all over Britain.

The use of kalendar evidence in a liturgical study must be treated with due caution, since the entry of a saint's name in a kalendar is not in itself conclusive proof of liturgical observance. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence from liturgical books, a comparison of kalendars from different times and places can at least give an accurate impression of the rate of growth of particular saints' cults, and also reveal lines of liturgical influence, since affinity between kalendars is often a sign of liturgical affinity. The usefulness of kalendars is greatly increased in the case of those which are graded, since the relative status accorded to particular saints is frequently the only accurate means of assigning a provenance to a kalendar, especially where it is largely made up of feasts of widespread observance. Because the kalendars of individual religious houses were never absolutely identical, even where one house was directly dependent on or founded from another, they can sometimes be the only means of determining whether a liturgical book is from a parent house or one of its dependent priories. For the purposes of the present study, the fairly large survival of kalendars from pre-Conquest Britain affords the opportunity of tracing the continuity of cults of Northumbrian saints throughout Britain at a time when the main centres of these cults had been almost completely destroyed by Danish invasions.

The following comparison shows the occurrence of twelve feasts relating to Northumbrian saints in the twenty kalendars which were published by the Henry Bradshaw Society under the editorship of Francis Wormald.³⁹

The twelve feasts in question are as follows:

- A. 12 January: St Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth
- B. 20 March: St Cuthbert, bp. of Lindisfarne
- C. 24 April: St Wilfrid, bp. of Ripon
- D. 7 May: St John of Beverley, archbp. of York
- E. 26 May: St Bede the Venerable
- F. 5 August: St Oswald, king and martyr
- G. 31 August: St Aidan, bp. of Lindisfarne
- H. 4 September: Translation of St Cuthbert
- I. 25 September: St Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow
- J. 8 October: Translation of SS Ceolfrith and Aidan
- K. 10 October: St Paulinus, archbp. of York
- L. 12 October: Translation of St Wilfrid

The provenance, date and siglum of each kalendar are given below:

- 1. [North country] s.ix. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 63 (ff.40-45v)
- 2. [West country] 969-978. Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 150 (ff.3-8v)
- 3. [Wessex] s.xi. London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A II (ff.3-8v)
- 4. [Glastonbury] c.970. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 579 (ff.39-44v) "The Leofric Missal"
- 5. [Canterbury, St Augustine's] 988-1012. London, British Library, Add. MS 37517 (ff.2-3) "The Bosworth Psalter"
- 6. [West Country] s.xi, late. Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.v.32 (ff.50-55v)
- 7. [Exeter] s.xi, late. London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xii (ff.65v-71)
- 8. [Wells] 1061-1088. London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xviii (ff.3-8v)
- 9. [Winchester, New Minster] 1023-1025. London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.xxvii (ff.3-8v)
- 10. [Winchester, New Minster] c.1025. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.15.32 (pp.15-26)
- 11. [Winchester] c.1060. London, British Library, Arundel MS 60 (ff.2-7v)
- 12. [Winchester, Hyde Abbey] c.1060. London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.xviii (ff.2-7v)
- 13. [Canterbury, Christ Church] 1012-1023. London, British Library, Arundel MS 155 (ff.2-7v)
- 14. [Sherborne] c.1061. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422 (pp.29-40)

³⁹*English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society LXXII, (London, 1934). One of the kalendars (no.15: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y.6) was omitted from Wormald's edition, but the relevant details have been supplied from HBS XI, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H.A. Wilson, pp. 9-20.

15. [Ely] s.xi, first quarter. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y.6 (ff.6-11v)
16. [Evesham?] s.xi, latter half. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 113 (ff.iii-viii)
17. [Worcester, Cathedral Priory] s.xi, latter half. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391 (pp.3-14) "The Portiforium of St Wulstan"
18. [Worcester?] s.xi 2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9 (pp.3-14)
19. [Bury St Edmunds] c.1050. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reginensis Lat. 12 (ff.7-12v)
20. [Croyland] s.xi med. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 296 (ff.1-6v)

The occurrence of Northumbrian feasts in these kalendars is shown in the following table:

(A letter "h" indicates that the feast is highly graded; "i" indicates an intermediate grading; "l" signifies a low or unspecified grading; italics indicate that the feast has been added to the kalendar at some later date, and an asterisk indicates that the kalendar concerned is ungraded throughout.)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1		h	h	h		h		l			l	
2		h	l			l	l				l	l
3*	l	l	l	l	l	l			l		l	
4	l	h					i		i	i	l	l
5	l	h				i	i		i		l	l
6	l	h				l		l	l		l	l
7*	l	l		l		l	l	l				l
8*		l				l	l	l	l			l
9*		l			l	l		l			l	l
10*		l			l	l		l			l	l
11		h				l		l			l	l
12		l			l	l		l			l	l
13		h				h		l			l	l
14		h			l	l	l	i	l		l	l
15		h	l	l		l		l				
16		l	l	l	l	h	l	h	l	l	l	l
17		h		l		h		l			l	l
18		h			h	l		l				
19		h	l	l		l		l			l	
20		h		l		h		l			l	l

The table reveals several striking patterns in the occurrence of feasts. The feast of the Deposition of St Cuthbert (B) is not only present in all twenty kalendars, but is also highly graded in all but two of those which contain gradings⁴⁰.

St Cuthbert's feast of Translation (H), though not so universally observed as the Deposition, is found in all but five of the kalendars

⁴⁰Even in the case of one of these exceptions, no.16 from Evesham, the lack of high grading may be a mere oversight on the part of the scribe, since the feast of the Translation of St Cuthbert (usually of lower grade than that of the Deposition) is indeed highly graded. Another possible reason for this reversal of the usual gradings may be the fact that the feast of Deposition (20 March) invariably fell during Lent. Such a conjecture is supported by the fact that the adjacent feast of St Benedict (21 March) is also of low grading in this kalendar compared with his feasts of Translation (11 July and 4 December).

(the exceptions being 2,3,4,5 and 17, the feast having been added to the last of these during the twelfth century). Since the translation commemorated on this date (4 September) was a fairly ignominious one from Lindisfarne to Norham-on-Tweed (c.830) occasioned by a Danish raid on Lindisfarne, its presence in three-quarters of the kalendars shows a surprisingly rapid dissemination of the feast. It is also an indication that the occurrence of feasts of Northumbrian saints in southern English kalendars cannot in all cases be explained by the availability of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and *vitæ* of northern saints by Bede and others. Such documents almost invariably supply the date of a saint's death, and in the case of Cuthbert also describe the translation which took place eleven years after his death, at which time (698) the incorrupt state of the saint's corpse was discovered. This translation, however, did not result in a new feast, since it had been deliberately carried out on the anniversary of Cuthbert's death (20 March). Thus the presence of St Cuthbert's feast of Deposition in a southern English kalendar of the tenth or eleventh century could be explained merely by a knowledge of the works of Bede, and would not in itself constitute proof of the unbroken continuity of a cult of St Cuthbert, nor of any direct liturgical contact with Northumbria. However, the added presence of the feast of Translation in such a kalendar implies the recent (i.e. post-830) receipt of some form of documentary material from the centre of the cult, giving details of the translation. Such documentary material might take the form of a service book or liturgical kalendar, but could equally well be a chronicle, or a copy of Bede's *Historia* to which a continuator had added a list of events subsequent to the death of Bede. An example of such movement of a kalendar from north to south is found in no. 1 above (Obl Digby MS 63), whose Northumbrian origin is shown by the high grading assigned to the feasts of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, John of Beverley and Oswald, but whose later migration to Winchester is suggested by the addition of two highly-graded feasts of St Swithun (2 and 15 July) sometime during the eleventh century. A final point concerning the feasts of St Cuthbert is that their presence in southern English kalendars cannot be attributed to the acquisition of relics, since Cuthbert's body was preserved in its (incorrupt) entirety throughout

the years of wandering following the flight from Lindisfarne and prior to the final settlement at Durham. Furthermore, so far as is known from existing relic-lists, no other church ever claimed to possess relics of St Cuthbert: this fact alone is powerful evidence for the unbroken continuity of a cult surrounding Cuthbert's body, since as soon as a corpse was temporarily lost sight of, perhaps as a result of Danish raids, the opportunity was created for the "invention" (literally "finding") of relics, whose authenticity was subsequently difficult to prove (or indeed to disprove).

The next most frequently-occurring feast is that of St Oswald, king of Northumbria and martyr, which is absent only from kalendar no. 4 (from Glastonbury), and is highly graded in six of the kalendars. The cult of St Oswald differs in several important respects from that of St Cuthbert, and indeed from all of the other cults under consideration. Most obviously, Oswald is the only member of the group to have been martyred, a fact which ensured his immediate veneration as a saint. Furthermore, after the battle in which the saint met his death, the corpse was dismembered in order to be displayed by his victorious enemies, and a long-term effect of this barbarous act was the wide dispersal of Oswald's relics, both throughout Britain and on the Continent⁴¹. Another difference is that of ecclesiastical status: whereas Oswald was a royal layman, all the others were either bishops or monks (or both, as in the cases of

⁴¹The story of the dispersal of Oswald's relics is told in great detail in the twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* by Reginald of Durham (printed in *Symeon*, vol. 1, pp. 326-385.) The main centres of the cult in Britain were (a) Lindisfarne, which possessed the head; this relic was eventually enshrined with the body of St Cuthbert, and shared in the various perambulations following the flight from Lindisfarne in 875. Because of this, Oswald's cult at Durham was inextricably linked with that of St Cuthbert; (b) Gloucester, which acquired the body in 909; it had originally been buried in Oswestry, then translated to Bardney; (c) Bamburgh, where both arms were initially enshrined; (d) Peterborough, which acquired an arm by theft from Bamburgh; (e) Ely, to which the Peterborough arm was later transferred; and (f) Hexham, which although it did not claim major relics of Oswald, played an important part in the early growth of the cult (c.f. Bede, *H.E.* iv,14).

On the continent Oswald's cult was encouraged by St Willibrord: the head was claimed by Echternach, and relics by several other Frisian churches (c.f. Peter Clemons, *The Cult of St Oswald on the Continent*, Jarrow, 1986). The whole body was also claimed by the monastery of St Winnoc's at Bergue in Flanders.

Aidan, Cuthbert, Wilfrid and John of Beverley). This meant that, while there was no single diocese or religious community with a vested interest in perpetuating Oswald's cult, his status as king and martyr gave him an appeal which transcended the merely local. Another way in which the cult of St Oswald differs from those of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith is in the lack of a contemporary *vita*⁴². This deficiency is, however, amply compensated by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which contains detailed accounts of Oswald's life, death, and miracles attributed to his intercession and relics⁴³.

The widespread cult of Paulinus (K), whose feast is found in 15 of the 20 kalendars and added to another, is largely due to Bede's description of him as first apostle of the north. The fact that he went out from Canterbury, became the first bishop of York and returned to be bishop of Rochester ensured his popularity in both Northumbria and Kent, and his relics were claimed by Canterbury.

The cult of St Wilfrid was initially centered at Ripon, the place of his burial, and Hexham, where his disciple Acca succeeded him as bishop and abbot. In the tenth century, however, it was claimed that his relics had been translated to Canterbury (by Oda), and also to Worcester (by St Oswald of Worcester), which greatly increased the diffusion of the cult.

The feast of St John of Beverley occurs in 8 of the kalendars, including a high grading in the earliest one (1). Accounts of his miracles were provided by both Bede and Alcuin, and it may be due to the popularity of Bede's works that King Athelstan of Wessex invoked his intercession for victory in battle.

Aidan (G), Ceolfrid (I) and Bede (E) each have a total of 7 kalendar entries, but the distribution of the first two feasts is quite different from the last. The intermediate grading of both Aidan and Ceolfrid in the kalendars of Glastonbury (4) and St Augustine's,

⁴²There were two much later Lives, by Drogo (*Acta Sanctorum* Aug. II (1735), 94-103) and Reginald of Durham (*Symeon*, vol. 1, pp. 326-85)

⁴³An example of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* being used as a substitute *vita* of St Oswald in order to provide lessons for Matins on his feast is found in the copy of *HE* in the National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh, NLS, Advocates MS 18.5.1), where references to the selected passages are given at the end. Also in the twelfth-century, Durham-produced *libelli* of SS Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan (eg. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.55), passages from Bede were combined to form continuous Lives of Oswald and Aidan.

Canterbury (5) is due to the fact that Glastonbury (which strongly influenced the kalendar of St Augustine's) claimed relics of both these saints from the tenth century onwards. This translation was itself celebrated at Glastonbury (and possibly Evesham, through Glastonbury influence) by a feast on 8 October (J). Durham later claimed (with greater credibility) to possess relics of Aidan, and the main centre of the cult moved back to Northumbria. It is not at first clear why the feast of St Bede was not more widespread, given the importance of his contribution to church history, the availability of his works, and the fact that Alcuin described miracles worked by his relics within 50 years of his death. One reason may be the lack of a *vita*; Cuthbert, the monk of Lindisfarne who wrote the *Letter on the death of Bede*, expressed his intention of writing a *vita*, but no such work survives. Another reason may be the coincidence of Bede's date of death with the feast of St Augustine of Canterbury on 26 May; in order to avoid this clash it was later changed to 27 May.

The early cult of Benedict Biscop is attested by Bede's Homily 17 for the feast, but the presence of the feast in 5 of the above kalendars is more likely to be due to the translation of the relics to Thorney Abbey in 980, and also to Glastonbury at about the same date.

The main conclusion which may be drawn from this chapter is that, although the Northumbrian monasteries were physically destroyed by repeated Danish raids from 793 onwards, certain important elements of the monastic tradition survived, largely due to the heroic efforts of the small group of Lindisfarne monks who came to be known as the Community of St Cuthbert. Without them, some of the finest treasures of the Northumbrian manuscript tradition, notably the Lindisfarne Gospels, would almost certainly have been lost, and Durham Cathedral Priory would probably never have been built, since its main purpose was to house the relics of St Cuthbert. Despite the fact that members of the Community of St Cuthbert seem to have lapsed from some aspects of monastic discipline after their flight from Lindisfarne, they did nevertheless continue the monastic form of singing the Divine Office, and maintained the episcopal succession of Lindisfarne. They also perpetuated some scribal skills in the writing of the *Liber vitæ*, and scholastic traditions in the Anglo-Saxon glossing of Latin texts. Perhaps most surprisingly of all, they acquired a knowledge of musical notation at a time when their very survival was under threat, in ways which suggest that they established contacts on the Continent as well as in southern England. The rapid growth of the cult of St Cuthbert is another development which can be attributed principally to the community which maintained his shrine, and this same community either composed, or at least commissioned the composition of the earliest known rhymed office for an insular saint.

The third chapter will explore how these traditions were renewed, and in some cases swept away, amid the resurgence of regular monastic life in Northern Britain after the Conquest.

CHAPTER THREE

AFTER THE CONQUEST: THE REVIVAL OF NORTHERN MONASTICISM

By the time of the Norman Conquest, there were no religious foundations north of the Humber which could properly be called monastic, in the sense of a group of celibates living and worshipping together under a common rule of life. There had been no northern counterpart to the monastic revival which had taken place in the south and west of England during the tenth century under the leadership of Ethelwold and Dunstan. The closest approximation to a Northumbrian monastery was the Community of St Cuthbert then established at Durham, but according to Symeon of Durham this applied exclusively to some of their liturgical customs, and not to their habit or way of life. By the early years of the twelfth century, however, there were thriving Benedictine monasteries at Durham, Whitby, York, Dunfermline and Coldingham, and the first of the reformed Benedictines at Selkirk (later Kelso). It is the purpose of the present chapter to examine how these houses were founded or revived, and to trace the various strands of influence on their liturgy. The main focus will be on Durham Cathedral Priory, since this incorporated the unbroken line of descent from Lindisfarne, both in its episcopal succession and in the cult of St Cuthbert, and also happens to have left the greatest heritage in terms of primary liturgical sources.

It will be convenient to begin by outlining the historical details leading to the revival of Bede's monastery of Jarrow, since this led on directly to the refounding of Durham, Whitby and St Mary's, York. The main sources for this section of the narrative are the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and *Historia Regum*, both by Symeon of Durham. Although written some forty years after the events in question, their reliability is of a high order, since Symeon himself seems to have been closely involved in the monastic revival.

In 1069, Ethelwine, the last Anglo-Saxon bishop of Durham, fled to Lindisfarne with the relics of St Cuthbert, fearing an assault on Durham by William the Conqueror. There ensued a period of confusion when the see of Durham was effectively vacant, until the appointment of Walcher as bishop of Durham in 1071. He was not himself a Norman,

but a Lotharingian, and was a secular cleric rather than a monk. Symeon describes how Walcher read in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of St Cuthbert* that his see of Durham took its origins from the monastic community of Lindisfarne, founded by St Oswald and St Aidan. As a result, he wished to restore monastic life at Durham, despite being a secular himself. As if in answer to his prayers, in about 1073 certain monks "in the southern parts of England" decided to travel northwards in order to restore regular life in Northumbria. These monks were Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, and two companions from Evesham Abbey, Elfwig and Reinfrid. Again, it is likely that they had had access to the works of Bede, and had read of the former splendours of the Northumbrian monasteries. Coming to Bishop Walcher, they asked if he would settle them somewhere in his diocese so that they could fulfil their chosen task. The place allotted to them by Walcher was the ruined monastery of Jarrow, and they set about restoring the monastic life there in spite of poverty and great hardships. Other companions soon joined them, as Symeon relates:

Meantime many, fired by their example, renouncing the world, received from them the monk's habit, and learned under the training of regular discipline to be Christ's soldiers. A few of these belonged to Northumbria, but a larger number were from the southern parts of England, men who, going forth after the example of Abraham from their country, and from their kindred, and from their fathers' house, desired to enter the land of promise, that is, their country on high, having Aldwin as their master in the religious life.¹

After about three years at Jarrow, Aldwin made a brief attempt to revive regular life at Melrose (where St Cuthbert had been educated), before returning to recolonise the monastery of St Peter at Wearmouth, which Walcher granted to Aldwin and Turgot (both later priors of Durham) between 1076 and 1078. At about this time Whitby Abbey was refounded by Reinfrid, and it was from here that St Mary's Abbey at York was founded in 1088, with Stephen, a disciple of Reinfrid's, as first abbot.

Meanwhile, Walcher had been assassinated in 1080 before he had had a chance to put into operation his plan to restore monastic life at his Cathedral in Durham. This task fell to his Norman successor, William of St Carilef, who in 1083 brought twenty-three monks from

¹Symeon, vol. 1, p.108

Jarrow and Wearmouth, and installed them in Durham Cathedral Priory with Aldwin as prior.

Before examining how the monastic liturgy of Durham evolved after 1083, it is worth considering what form it might have taken during the transitional period under bishop Walcher, that is, from 1071-1080. We have Symeon's testimony that the Community of St Cuthbert had preserved the monastic *cursus* of psalms when singing the Office, but that in all other respects they were unworthy even to be called clerics. Despite Walcher's reported enthusiasm for restoring monastic life at Durham, he perhaps despaired of making good monks out of the community he had inherited (it is likely that many of them would have been married, or at least living with a woman). In any case, he seems to have attempted to bring them into conformity with a secular manner of worshipping:

Who, when he found seculars in that same place, taught them to observe the custom of seculars in the Day and Night Offices.²

This extract is useful in that it refers unequivocally to the Divine Office, but unfortunately it gives no clue as to where Walcher might have looked for a model for the secular liturgy, nor does it specify how his teaching was carried out. There is one piece of manuscript evidence, however, which might provide tentative answers to both of these questions. The manuscript concerned is part of an eleventh-century antiphoner, noted with adiastematic neumes, which is bound in with a collection of homilies by Gregory the Great and others, in the Chapter Library of Durham Cathedral (MS B.III.11). The antiphoner, which is thought to have been kept at Durham throughout the Middle Ages, was written in northern France, and is typical of the secular Gallican use³. These facts are consistent with its having been brought by Walcher from his native Lorraine, and used to teach the Community of St Cuthbert the secular manner of singing the Office. That some at least of the community were already conversant with musical notation in adiastematic neumes, is

²Symeon, vol. 1, p.105

³This manuscript has been twice edited: *Pars Antiphonarii*, ed. W.H. Frere (facsimile by Plainsong and Medieval Music Society; London, 1923); *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, vol. 1, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Rome, 1963).

demonstrated by the surviving pre-Conquest manuscripts described in the previous chapter.

It was the opinion of Christopher Hohler that the rhymed Office of St Cuthbert contained in King Athelstan's Book was first tried out under bishop Walcher. Whether this was the case, or whether (as was argued in the previous chapter) it had been used before the Conquest, it was already in secular form, and would thus need no adaptation for use in the secular manner of performing the Day and Night Office. Furthermore, we know that King Athelstan's Book was actually in use and not hidden away during Walcher's episcopate, since on folio 96 verso of that manuscript is recorded in Anglo-Saxon a memorandum to the effect that Bishop Walcher and St Cuthbert's community granted to Ealdgyth the land at Thornley on certain stipulated conditions.

A further proposition concerning the liturgy at Durham under Bishop Walcher is that the rhymed Office of St Oswald, found in monastic form in later Durham manuscripts, may originally have been composed in a secular form during Walcher's episcopate. One reason for suspecting this metamorphosis from secular to monastic office is that a stylistic change in both music and text is detectable at the crucial point between the ninth and tenth antiphons of matins (*cf.* p.206).

In order to reconstruct a composite model of liturgy and chant in Northumbria from the Conquest until the early years of the twelfth century, one possible approach is to build a hypothetical model based on what we might expect from the known historical facts concerning movements of books and personnel, then to examine the evidence of liturgical books to see how far this corresponds to the hypothetical model. A use of this method on a small scale can be seen in the above discussion of the liturgy at Durham under Bishop Walcher. Another method, and perhaps a more orthodox one, is to examine and codify the manuscript evidence first, then to attempt to explain these results in the light of historical data. This second method works best when there are a large number of manuscripts to be compared, all of which are of a comparable type and within a reasonable date-range (for example, Hesbert's study of regional variations in the temporal

Office by comparing the order and selection of Advent responsories). In the present study, I intend to use the first approach outlined above, since the sources are few, their survival arbitrary, and although there is at least one extant liturgical manuscript from most of the institutions concerned, these differ so widely in type and date as to make direct comparison either impossible or meaningless.

In the case of Aldwin's priory at Jarrow, any reconstruction must remain entirely theoretical, since no manuscript evidence survives from Jarrow at that period. It is reported by Symeon that Aldwin and his companions, when they set out for Northumbria, took with them the necessary books and vestments for the celebration of the liturgy⁴. It would be logical to assume that such books would conform to the usage of Aldwin's native monastery of Winchcombe, particularly since he had held the senior position of prior. The other possible source for these liturgical books is the abbey of Evesham, where Elfwig and Reinfrid had been monks. The next step in this process is to establish what type of liturgy we would expect to have been in use at Winchcombe and Evesham at the time when the pioneers set out, then to check this using any surviving sources from the two abbeys concerned.

The date at which Aldwin and his two companions set out from their respective abbeys is a crucial one, since it falls within a decade of the Norman Conquest, a time of great change and instability for the older Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Episcopal and abbatial preferments were now controlled by King William and Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Norman colleagues whom they appointed were expected to introduce Norman customs to their monasteries. In 1073, Winchcombe was still ruled by an Anglo-Saxon abbot, Godric, at least in theory; in practice, he had fallen foul of the new king, and was under restraint at the nearby abbey of Evesham. Ethelwig, abbot of Evesham, had probably undertaken this restraint for Godric's own protection rather than to render service to the Crown, since Ethelwig himself was an Anglo-Saxon. In any case, the relevance of this information to the liturgy of Jarrow is that

⁴*Symeon*, vol. 1, p.108. Symeon adds the detail that, as Aldwin and his companions travelled north on foot, they took only such books and vestments as could be carried on the back of an ass.

neither Winchcombe nor Evesham had yet come under Norman liturgical influence at the time when Aldwin and his companions set out, so the books they took with them must be presumed to have conformed to the pre-Conquest, Anglo-Saxon usage of those monasteries. This is important to bear in mind when considering the surviving liturgical books of Winchcombe and Evesham, as will be seen below.

Among the extant liturgical manuscripts from Winchcombe and Evesham, none dates from the period under discussion. From Winchcombe there is a sacramentary dating from the tenth century (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 127), and a twelfth-century breviary (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 116). From Evesham there is a breviary dating from the thirteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow MS. 41), of which only the winter part survives. These two breviaries were included by Hesbert in *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*⁵ which sought to demonstrate liturgical affinities between monastic breviaries by comparing their Advent responsory series. From this study it was clear that the breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham formed a sub-group amongst insular breviaries, in that the two, while being closely similar to each other, showed an even closer affinity to a group of manuscripts from the Norman monasteries of Fécamp, Jumièges, Conches, Troarn, St-Évroult and Mont St-Michel. Thus it is highly unlikely that the surviving breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham reflect the manner in which the Office was carried out under the Anglo-Saxon abbots Godric and Ethelwig, but rather represent later changes made under Norman influence. At Winchcombe, such influence may have taken effect as late as the middle of the twelfth century, when Henry, formerly prior of Gloucester, was elected abbot of Winchcombe. The first abbot of Gloucester had been Serlo, who had introduced liturgical books directly from Mont St-Michel to his own abbey. It seems therefore impossible by this method to reconstruct the Office as it was performed at Aldwin's house at Jarrow. This leaves only the

⁵R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963-79) [hereafter *CAO*]. Hesbert described his findings from these insular MSS in "Les Antiphonaires Monastiques Insulaires," *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982), pp. 358-375. For a summary of his findings concerning insular monastic breviaries, see p.89 ff. below.

Winchcombe sacramentary, which because of its early date seems more likely to represent the type of book taken north by Aldwin. In the absence of Jarrow books with which to compare it, this idea must remain conjectural, but if it could be shown that one or all of the later missals of Durham, Whitby or St Mary's, York, closely resembled the Winchcombe sacramentary, this would provide circumstantial evidence that a sacramentary was brought from Winchcombe to Jarrow and used there by Aldwin and his companions.

In searching for evidence of liturgical affinity, it must be borne in mind that the Black Benedictine houses, even after the Cluny-influenced reforms of the eleventh century, were not part of a centralised order following a strictly uniform observance. One result of Hesbert's study was to reveal the extent of liturgical divergence between Benedictine monasteries, even in a relatively small and isolated geographical area such as Britain. Liturgical books evidently did circulate between monasteries, but were not necessarily reproduced in a slavish manner, but rather used in a process of selection and compilation. Thus, even if a liturgical affinity between two or more particular houses can be demonstrated using a method such as Hesbert's, it must be remembered that this applies only to a limited sphere such as the Temporal Office, and does not necessarily imply affinity in chant melodies, Mass prayers, or the Sanctorale. Particularly when considering the foundation of new monasteries, or the refounding of old ones, as is the case in the present chapter, we must entertain the possibility that liturgical books were compiled for the new foundations from composite sources, rather than following exclusively the exemplars of one particular monastery.

Since the monasteries of Durham, Whitby and St Mary's, York, were all founded directly or indirectly from Aldwin's house at Jarrow, it is reasonable to expect that the liturgical practices adopted in these three houses might have much in common, and might also reflect the pre-Conquest usage of Winchcombe and Evesham. There are other factors, however, which must be taken into consideration, particularly in the case of Durham. This was not a foundation *de novo*, but rather a reform of an older community with already-established liturgical customs, which might be expected to influence the new order. Also Lanfranc, the new Norman Archbishop of

Canterbury, took a keen interest in the re-foundation, which suggests the possibility of influence from Normandy or Canterbury. In the case of St Mary's, York, the secular Use of that city should be considered as a possible liturgical influence.

The next task is to examine the surviving liturgical books of Whitby, St Mary's York, and Durham, and comparing them with each other, and also with manuscripts from Canterbury, York and Winchcombe, to see how far they conform to the expectations set out above. The manuscripts relevant to the Mass are listed below:

Whitby Abbey: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. b.1 (fourteenth-century missal);

St Mary's Abbey, York: Cambridge, St John's College, MS D.27 (Ordinal and Customary, c.1400);

Durham Cathedral Priory: London, British Library, Harley MS 5289 (Missal, early fourteenth century);

Winchcombe Abbey: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127 (Sacramentary, tenth century);

Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury: Durham, Cosin Library MS V.V.6 (Gradual, late eleventh century);

Secular Use of York: *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, ed. W.G. Henderson, Surtees Society, 1874.

It will be seen from this list that the scope for comparison is limited, but nevertheless possible. The only two books which cannot be compared with each other are the Winchcombe Sacramentary, which contains only prayers for the Mass, and the Cosin Gradual, which contains only the chants of the Mass, without even cues for the prayers. The Ordinal of St Mary's, York, includes incipits for prayers and chants of the Mass (and also for the Office), but for the *temporale* only.

The starting point for this comparison is the collation of insular and continental missals which was included by J. Wickham Legg in Volume III of *Missale Westmonasteriensis*. Of the six manuscripts listed above, four are included in Wickham Legg's collation: those from Whitby, Durham, Winchcombe and York (secular). Appendix I is an extrapolation from this collation, with particular reference to the Durham Missal, showing which chants and prayers

were unique to Durham, or shared between it and one, two, three or four other sources. The main pattern to emerge from this comparison is a significant similarity between the missals of Durham and Whitby, particularly in their choice of collects, secrets, postcommunions, graduals and sequences.

The following items (first from the *temporale*, then the *sanctorale*) are common to Durham and Whitby, but not found in any of the other manuscripts collated by Wickham Legg:

the collect for Sexagesima Sunday;
the sequence for Wednesday in Easter Week (*Psalle lirica*);
the lack of a sequence for Friday and Saturday of Easter Week;
the gradual for the Fourth Sunday after Easter (*In die resurrectionis*);
the lack of a collect following the fourth lesson in the Vigil of Pentecost;
the gradual for Tuesday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus sanctus procedens*);
the offertory for Wednesday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Emitte spiritum*);
the gradual for Thursday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Emitte spiritum. Repleti*); also, no sequence for this day;

the sequence for St Vincent on 22 January (*Precelsa seclis colitur dies*);
the secret and postcommunion for St Dunstan on 19 May (*Hostiam tibi domine* and *Assit nobis omnipotens deus*);
the collect and secret for St German on 31 July (*Beati confessoris tui* and *Respice domine propicius*);
the sequence for St Oswald on 5 August (*Regis Oswalde inclita*);
the introit psalm verse for the Vigil of the Assumption on 14 August (*Et gaudium*);
the gradual for the Beheading of St John the Baptist on 29 August (*Domine prevenisti*), and the sequence for the same feast (*Organicis*).

This list is considerably augmented if those cases are included where an item is found only in Durham, Whitby and one other use:

the sequence for Christmas Day (*Celica resonant*);
the gradual for the Vigil of the Epiphany (*Tecum principium. Dixit dominus. Dominus regnavit*) and the communion for the same day (*In splendoribus sanctorum*);
the *alleluia* verse for Thursday in Easter Week (*Surrexit altissimus*);
the gradual for the Sunday after Ascension (*Ascendit deus in iubilacione*) and the sequence for the same day (*Victime paschali*);
the gradual for Monday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus domini replevit*);
the sequence for Wednesday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Almiphona*);

the postcommunion for Friday in the Octave of Pentecost (*Sumpsimus domine*);
the collect for the Saturday after Pentecost (*Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus ieiuniis*);

the secret for St Maurus on 15 January (*Oblatis domine ob honorem beati mauri*);

the secret and postcommunion for St Augustine of Canterbury on 26 May (*Sit tibi quesumus domine nostre devocionis oblacio... and Misteriis divinis refecti quesumus*);

the introit verse for the Vigil of SS Peter and Paul on 28 June (*Symon iohannis*);

the communion for the Assumption on 15 August (*Dilexisti iusticiam*);

the postcommunion for SS Cornelius and Cyprian on 14 September (*Saciati sumus domine muneribus sacris*);

the secret and postcommunion for St Brice on 13 November (*Hostiam nostre quesumus domine... and Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beati bricii*);

the secret for St Edmund on 20 November (*Sacrificium devotionis nostre*).

The most common means of determining liturgical affinity between missals or graduals is to compare the series of *alleluia* versicles for the Sundays after Pentecost. Perhaps because specific chants were assigned to these "Green" Sundays much later than was the case for the rest of the *temporale*, the choice of chants differed between each Use and each individual monastery, unless it belonged to one of the orders which imposed a centralised liturgy. Of the six manuscripts listed above, only the Winchcombe Sacramentary was excluded from the comparison, since it does not contain the chants of the Mass.

The patterns of affiliation for each Sunday after Pentecost are shown below. Where two or more of the five Uses are grouped in brackets, this indicates that their choice of *alleluia* versicle is identical for that particular Sunday. The following abbreviations are employed: C=Canterbury, D=Durham, W=Whitby, M=St Mary's, York, and Y=Secular Use of York.

1st Sunday:	[C	D	W	M	Y]
2nd Sunday:	[C	D	W	M]	Y
3rd Sunday:	[C	D	W	M]	Y
4th Sunday:	[C	D	Y]	[W	M]
5th Sunday:	[C	D	Y]	[W	M]
6th Sunday:	[C	D]	[W	M]	Y
7th Sunday:	[C	D]	W	M	Y
8th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
9th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
10th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
11th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
12th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
13th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
14th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
15th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	[M	Y]
16th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	M	Y
17th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	M	Y
18th Sunday:	[C	D]	W]	M	Y
19th Sunday:	[C	D]	W	M	Y
20th Sunday:	[C	D	W]	M	Y
21st Sunday:	[C	D	W]	M	Y
22nd Sunday:	[C	D]	W]	M	Y
23rd Sunday:	[C	D]	W	M	Y
24th Sunday:	-	-	W	[M	Y]
25th Sunday:	-	-	W	[M	Y]

(This tabulation does not take account of those cases where one of the Uses has more than one *alleluia* verse for a particular Sunday. These cases will be discussed below.)

Several interesting features are apparent from this table. Most noticeable is the fact that the Durham Missal is identical with the Canterbury gradual in its choice of verses. Since the Canterbury gradual is known to have been sent to Durham at the end of the eleventh century, probably as a gift from Lanfranc, it is almost certain that this book was used as an exemplar from which to compile the mass chants of the Durham Missal. The copying of these chants was not slavish, however. Although not indicated in the table above, the Canterbury gradual sometimes indicates more than one *alleluia* verse, and in these cases the Durham Missal does not always follow this practice, but selects one of the verses indicated in the Canterbury book. Two interesting examples of this are the 18th and 22nd Sundays, where Canterbury indicates two verses, and in each case, Durham chooses one verse, and Whitby the other. Thus, although the Durham and Whitby missals do not accord with each other for these Sundays, they both accord with Canterbury (hence the double brackets). Thus although Whitby coincides with Durham in all but 8 cases, Whitby and Canterbury agree in all but 6. While this is not enough to show dependence of Whitby on either of the other books, it makes it likely that they shared a common ancestor. The degree of accord between St Mary's York and the secular use is sufficient to imply that the monastery came under the liturgical influence of the secular use of the diocese to which it belonged.

If, instead of mass chants, we examine mass prayers, the results are even more interesting. At the point where the choice of secrets and postcommunions begins to diverge between all the uses, that is, from the 18th Sunday after Pentecost onwards, a distinct sub-group emerges amongst all the missals collated by Wickham Legg (with my addition of St Mary's York, which Wickham Legg did not include). This group consists of Winchcombe, Durham, Whitby and St Mary's York (and sometimes includes St Augustine's, Canterbury or St Alban's), the Canterbury gradual being excluded because it does not include mass prayers. This fits very well with the idea that Aldwin and his companions brought with them a sacramentary from Winchcombe, which was used at Jarrow, and eventually copied for use at all the daughter foundations, i.e. Durham, Whitby, and St Mary's York. A similar pattern emerges with regard to sequences, at least in

the cases of Durham and Whitby. The choice of sequence for a given feast is often unique to Durham and Whitby (see Appendix I and above), and this choice rarely coincides with sequences indicated on the Canterbury gradual. It would seem that a repertory of sequences was already in use at Durham and Whitby before the arrival of Canterbury books, and this is proved by the fact that sequences were added, complete with notation, to the Canterbury gradual soon after it reached Durham at the end of the 11th century⁶, and it was these additional sequences which were indicated to be used for the appropriate feasts in the Durham Missal, rather than those contained in the Canterbury gradual.

The sequences added to the Canterbury gradual (Cosin MS V.V.6) are as follows:

f.2: *Alme concrepent sonore* for the Translation of St Cuthbert on 4 September (this was erroneously assigned to the feast of St Aidan by K.D. Hartzell, because of the mention of Aidan's soul ascending into heaven);

f.2v: *Christo regi cantica* for St Nicholas on 6 December;

f.3: *O alma trinitas* for the Holy Trinity (again, wrongly assigned by Hartzell to the feast of St Cuthbert, because of the mention of Cuthbert on f.3v, "Cum quibus & rutilat coronatus in are CUTHBERTUS pontifex candidatus purpura preclara," etc.);

f.3v: *Precelsa seclis colitur* for St Vincent on 22 January;

f.4v: *Sollemnitatis sancti pauli* for the Conversion of St Paul on 25 January;

f.5: *Regis oswalde inclita* for St Oswald on 5 August;

f.5v: *Post partum virgo* for the Assumption of St Mary on 15 August;

f.6: *Ave preclara maris stella* for the Nativity of St Mary on 8 September;

f.6v: *Ave maria gracia plena* for St Mary;

f.7: *Laudes crucis attollamus* for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September;

f.7v: *Verbi dei parens* for St Mary.

⁶See K.D. Hartzell, "An unknown English Benedictine Gradual of the eleventh century" in *Anglo-Saxon England* 4, pp. 131-144.

These sequences are of particular interest, as they are initially notated with the same type of adiastematic neumes which had been used almost a century earlier in the notation of the sequence which was added to King Athelstan's Book (see Chapter 2). On f.6, however, the style of notation changes to that which was to become associated with the Durham scriptorium in the twelfth century: square notation on three red lines, using a variety of clefs (see Susan Rankin's description of Trinity College, MS 0.3.55 in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, pp.33-36).

The addition of these sequences to the Canterbury gradual, and subsequently to the Durham Missal, also shows how local compositions, such as those for Cuthbert and Oswald, were incorporated into the post-Conquest liturgy of Durham Cathedral Priory.

A further stage in the compilation of a liturgical book was the addition of rubrics. In general, earlier liturgical books had included a minimum of rubrics, but the complexity of these liturgical directions grew steadily throughout the Middle Ages, until separate books of directions became necessary (the *ordinale* of St Mary's, York, is an example of such a book). In the case of the Durham Missal, rubrics could not simply be copied from the Canterbury gradual, as it contains only very terse rubrics. The comparison which forms Appendix II aims to show the similarities between the rubrics of the Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289) and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, of which the earliest surviving copy (Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24) was sent to Durham by Lanfranc in the late eleventh century. The particular rubrics chosen for comparison are those of Holy Week, beginning with Palm Sunday, since this part of the Liturgical Year is most richly rubricated. The fact that many passages are common to both manuscripts seems to demonstrate that many of Lanfranc's detailed liturgical directions were incorporated into the Durham Missal (although it is possible that they both derive from a common exemplar).

The Office also provides fertile ground for examining the process of liturgical compilation, and also for determining liturgical affinity

and routes of liturgical influence. A thirteenth-century breviary survives from Coldingham Priory, which was a dependent priory of Durham. This manuscript (London, British Library, MS Harley 4664), is one of thirteen insular monastic sources which were collated by Hesbert in *CAO*. These sources are listed below:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369 (Missal-breviary of Lewes Priory, c. 1300)
Cambridge, St John's College, MS D. 27 (*Ordinale* of St Mary's, York, c.1400)
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 1359 (Breviary of Battle Abbey, 15th century)
Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.IV.20 (Ely Breviary, 1275)
London, British Library, MS Harley 4664 (Coldingham Breviary, c.1270)
London, British Library, MS Add. 43405 (Muchelney Breviary, late 13th century)
London, British Library, MS Add. 49363 (Pontefract Breviary, c. 1300)
Mount Melleray MS (Cistercian Breviary, 12th century)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 41 (Evesham Breviary, 13th century)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. lit. e 1 (Hyde Breviary, c. 1300)
Oxford, University College, MS 101 (Pontefract Breviary, 13th century)
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 116 (Winchcombe Breviary, 12th century)
Worcester, Chapter Library, MS F.160 (Worcester Antiphoner, 13th century).

The method used by Hesbert to determine the liturgical affinity of the manuscripts is to compare their choice of matins responsories for the four Sundays of Advent, making 48 points of comparison in all (12 for each Sunday). The reason for choosing this method is that, as well as comparing the MSS with each other, they can also be compared with a primitive Roman "archetype," whose responsories Hesbert numbers 11-19 for the 1st Sunday, 21-29 for the 2nd, 31-39 for the 3rd, and 41-49 for the 4th (the archetype is a "secular" office, having 9 responsories for each Sunday). Thus for each MS, it is possible to see at a glance how closely it conforms to the archetype, whether the archetypal order of responsories is preserved, and which additional items are chosen in order to bring the total to 12 for each Sunday. As a secondary means of comparison, the responsory verses for the same four Sundays are compared. By

applying these methods to virtually all surviving European breviaries, Hesbert is able to identify distinct groups of manuscripts, beginning with those which have identical responsory series, then enlarging each group by the attachment of MSS which are nearly identical, then those which are more remotely connected, and so on.

The results for the insular MSS listed above may be summarised as follows. Under the first classification (that of the responsories), four of the MSS are found to belong to orders which had a completely centralised liturgy: one Cistercian (the Mount Melleray MS), and three Cluniac (one from Lewes and two from Pontefract). The remaining nine MSS fall into three distinct groups. The first group consists of the breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham,⁷ which form part of a larger group termed *Saint-Bénigne* by Hesbert. This group, headed by breviaries from Saint-Bénigne and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, also includes an important sub-group of Norman MSS, from Fécamp, Jumièges, Conches, Troarn, Saint-Évroult and Mont Saint-Michel. This grouping is confirmed by Hesbert's second classification (that of the responsory verses). The next group is termed *France-Nord* by Hesbert, and consists of the MSS from Hyde, Ely, Battle, Coldingham and Worcester. Under the second classification, this group is further broken down into three sub-groups: the Hyde Breviary attaches itself to the Saint-Bénigne group; the Ely Breviary is attached to Fleury; and the MSS from Battle, Coldingham and Worcester are attached to le Bec. The final group is termed *insulaire* by Hesbert, since its two MSS (from Muchelney and St Mary's, York) are similar to each other, but quite remote from any other group, either insular or Continental.

Having thus demonstrated the liturgical affinity of the insular manuscripts, and revealed the likely routes of transmission, Hesbert concludes that the MSS of Muchelney and St Mary's, York, may represent an autonomous insular monastic tradition which was developed in Britain, and independent from Continental influence. He does not seek to interpret these findings in the light of the historical narrative of the insular monasteries, but leaves this task for other scholars. One such scholar, who had in fact anticipated many of Hesbert's results, was Dame Laurentia McLaughlin, Abbess of

⁷cf. p.80 above, where these two MSS were discussed in relation to the liturgy of Jarrow under Aldwin.

Stanbrook. In an appendix to her edition of the *Ordinale* of St Mary's, York,⁸ she pointed out the close affinity between Muchelney and St Mary's, York, and also the affinity of the Winchcombe and Evesham breviaries to that of Mont Saint-Michel.

For our present purposes, the fact that the Coldingham Breviary (representing the use of Durham) is unrelated to the use of St Mary's, York, and that neither is similar to the MSS from Evesham or Winchcombe, seems at odds with what might be expected from the historical facts. However, the late date of all the books involved (none is earlier than the twelfth century) must be taken into account: it has already been demonstrated above⁹ that the breviaries of Evesham and Winchcombe do not represent the Anglo-Saxon usage of their respective monasteries. Furthermore, the close affinity between Coldingham and Battle Abbey becomes more explicable when it is realised that Battle was the first Abbey to be founded (in 1069) by William the Conqueror, under the guidance of Lanfranc, formerly abbot of le Bec in Normandy, and that Durham came under the influence of Lanfranc when it was re-founded in 1083. It should therefore be no surprise to find that both foundations reflect the liturgical usage of le Bec, more closely than that of other insular monasteries. This leaves the curious affinity between Muchelney and St Mary's York. The Abbess of Stanbrook discovered a piece of circumstantial evidence suggesting that both books represent the Anglo-Saxon monastic usage of Wessex or Mercia. The evidence consists of the fact that the Magnificat antiphon, *Quare detraxistis*, which is found only in these two books and not in other insular sources, is quoted in full in the Life of St Dunstan, written c.1000 by an Anglo-Saxon priest, as being sung by the monks of Glastonbury during Dunstan's lifetime (he died in 998). The Abbess of Stanbrook concludes that

Although the indications are but slight they support the theory that the Muchelney breviary may represent the old books of Glastonbury and other Anglo-Saxon monasteries more closely than any others now extant and that the liturgical usage of St Mary's, York, may be directly descended from them, breaking off

⁸*The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York*, edited by the Abbess of Stanbrook and J.B.L. Tolhurst, 3 vols. (London, 1936-51). Vol. 3, Appendix I, pp. i-iv.

⁹cf. p.80.

at a date before Norman influences apparent at Evesham and Winchcombe at a later date had succeeded in obliterating at least this unusual detail. (op. cit., p. iv)

If this theory is correct, it leads to a further conclusion which seems to have eluded scholars up to now, but which is not entirely unexpected. This is based on the fact that the Advent responsory series of St Mary's, York conforms more closely to the Roman archetype than that of any other insular MS. For the 3rd and 4th Sundays, the series of the archetype are preserved in their entirety; for the 1st Sunday, the order of the last two responsories of the archetype is inverted, and for the 2nd Sunday, two are missing, one of which is however used as the 11th responsory for the 1st Sunday. This degree of affinity with the archetype is most unusual among monastic uses, and may mean that the Anglo-Saxon monasteries, which had come under direct Roman influence at an early date, and had maintained this connection at least until the Danish invasions began at the end of the eighth century, preserved this Roman influence in their liturgy until the tenth-century reforms in the south, and to a much greater extent the Norman Conquest, introduced French and Norman practices almost without exception. By an accident of history, however, St Mary's Abbey at York seems to have preserved elements of the earlier, Roman-influenced liturgy throughout the Middle Ages until the Reformation.

The Coldingham Breviary is particularly notable for its inclusion of full monastic rhymed offices for three seventh-century Northumbrian saints: Cuthbert, Oswald and Ebba, and these are given in Appendix III, with music for the antiphons and responsories transcribed from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.55¹⁰, a *libellus* containing Lives of Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan, and liturgy for Cuthbert and Oswald.¹¹ A study of these offices, particularly that of

¹⁰This manuscript is described by Susan Rankin in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts*, pp. 33-36.

¹¹Several later examples of similar *libelli* from the Durham scriptorium are extant:

Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657 (396), early 13th century. Its contents, including the music, are almost identical to those of Ctc 0.3.55;

St Cuthbert, will demonstrate how earlier material (in this case, the secular Office of St Cuthbert whose text is contained in King Athelstan's Book) was adapted and augmented to suit the needs of the new Benedictine monastery, chiefly by the composition of new antiphons and responsories for matins, to bring their number from the nine required by the secular office, to the twelve demanded by the monastic.

"Composition" is a contentious word when used in the context of liturgical chant. Because of the long period of oral transmission which preceded the development of musical notation, terms such as "improvisation", "centonisation" or "adaptation" are more frequently used in describing how the oldest (or "Gregorian") layer of chants came into being. It seems clear, however, that from the tenth century onwards there emerged a more consciously creative process, which approximated to the modern concept of composition in that the resulting pieces could be notated immediately. In other ways, however, particularly the way in which music was matched with words, the creative process was very different: instead of the modern idea of a specific musical response to the *meaning* of the text, it was the *sound* of the words and the formal structure of the text which were more important, and general matters of musical style- such as whether a chant was syllabic, neumatic or melismatic- were determined by the genre and intended liturgical function of the piece.

In the case of the Mass, such creative energy was largely expended in the creation of new forms of paraliturgical chant, such as tropes and sequences, or the adaptation of new texts to existing chants, since the ancient Gregorian melodies were considered too sacrosanct to be displaced by entirely new compositions.

In the Office, on the other hand, although no new forms of chant emerged, there was an enormous proliferation of new pieces within the traditional forms of antiphon, responsory and hymn. For this reason, the Office chants are ideal material for tracing changes

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius D XX, early 13th century. This MS is badly damaged by fire, but the little which remains of the liturgy for St Cuthbert accords with Ctc 0.3.55; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 491, third quarter of the twelfth century. Almost identical to Ctc 0.3.55 in content, but omitting liturgy for Cuthbert and Oswald.

in musical style over a period of time. Whereas a sequence has no Gregorian equivalent either in its poetic structure or its syllabic style of word-setting, a matins responsory- even one from a late medieval rhymed Office- is recognizably the same type of piece as a responsory dating from several centuries earlier, since at least the overall structure and melismatic style are common to both.

The most detailed and comprehensive study of matins responsories is W.H. Frere's introduction to the Sarum Antiphonal.¹² Frere's dissertation is primarily concerned with identifying the distinctive melodic formulæ which in various combinations form the "typical" responsories in each of the eight modes. His justification for adopting this approach is as follows:

It may seem, if merely these lists and the formulas attached to them are considered, that the composition of responds of this type was a very mechanical affair, being simply the combination of certain clichés. But this is not the case; and in order to see the skill of composition it is necessary to examine the different component phrases, and see how each is skilfully handled, being delicately and skilfully adjusted to the words...

By judging the responsories solely on these grounds, Frere dismisses most pieces which depart radically from the typical means of construction- and thus, nearly all the later compositions- as decadent and corrupt. He also fails to take into account the liturgical context and performance practice of the chants in question. No chant can be defined purely in terms of its melody and text; it must also be considered in the light of its genre and function in the liturgy. An antiphon, for example, is intended to link the psalm which follows it with the particular feast being celebrated; on a musical level, it determines the tone to which the psalm is sung. A responsory, on the other hand, is usually a static, meditative chant, which may reflect upon the preceding lesson. Other factors which might affect the style or length of a chant are its position in a particular nocturn, and in the Office as a whole; the number of cantors employed for each piece, and the contrast resulting from alternating cantors and choir; the inclusion or otherwise of a *gloria patri*, and whether repeats are partial or complete. The following discussion explores how these

¹² *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed. W.H. Frere, 6 volumes (London, 1901-24). Frere's introduction is in volume 1, pp.1-82.

issues might have affected the composition of antiphons and responsories for the two rhymed offices most closely associated with Durham: those of St Cuthbert and St Oswald.

Although these two saints were closely linked in time and location, their rhymed Offices were composed under widely differing circumstances. St Cuthbert's was originally a secular Office, and was written in the early tenth century in Wessex or Chester-le-Street. The Office of St Oswald is known only in monastic form, and seems to have been written in Durham at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. Durham Cathedral Priory forms the link between the two Offices, since this was where relics of both saints were eventually enshrined, after sharing the wanderings of the Community of St Cuthbert. Here also the secular Office of St Cuthbert was adapted for monastic use by the addition of extra antiphons and responsories.

In 1083, the Community of St Cuthbert were ejected from their church at Durham by the new Norman bishop, William of St Carilef, and were replaced by a community of twenty-three Benedictine monks, from the monastery which Aldwin had recently re-founded at Jarrow. The church at Durham was elevated to the status of a Cathedral Priory, with Aldwin as the first prior. Soon afterwards, in 1093, Bishop William initiated the construction of the splendid Romanesque church which still stands today. One of the main purposes of this new building was to create a worthy setting for the shrine of St Cuthbert, and another important way of honouring the saint was the provision of Proper chants for the patronal feast-days and commemorations. The monastic official¹³ entrusted with this task did not have to start from scratch. Among the various treasures which had been added to St Cuthbert's relics during the years of wandering was the manuscript known as King Athelstan's Book (described in the previous chapter), which contained the tenth-century secular Office of St Cuthbert, and this formed the basis of the new monastic Office. The first requirement would have been the provision of extra lessons and chants to bring the secular Office into line with monastic usage. The simplest way of adapting an Office from

¹³This may well have been Symeon, author of the *Historia Dunelmensis* and *Historia Regum*, since he held the position of Precentor (chief cantor) of Durham.

secular to monastic use would have been to supply the extra items from the appropriate part of the *commune sanctorum* (in this case, from the Common of Confessor Bishops), and this was indeed the method adopted in several monastic versions of the Office of St Cuthbert¹⁴. At Durham itself, however, this solution was evidently deemed to be unsatisfactory, perhaps for the following reasons. Firstly, the antiphons and responsories of the secular Office are in ascending modal order, whereas the common items are arbitrary in their choice of modes, and would thus upset the overall structure of the Office. Secondly, each nocturn of matins moves towards a climax, effected by increasing numbers of cantors, the addition of the *gloria patri*, and greater length of responsories. For example, the *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc, which almost certainly influenced liturgical practice at Durham (see Appendix II), direct that on feasts of the highest rank (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, and the feast of the principal patron of the church, i.e. St Cuthbert in the case of Durham), the first three responsories in each nocturn of matins should be sung by two cantors, whereas the last responsory in each nocturn (i.e. the fourth, eighth and twelfth) should be sung by four, five and six cantors respectively. Furthermore, the eighth and twelfth are directed to be repeated from the beginning after the *gloria patri*, instead of the usual repetition of the second section of the respond only. It would have been anti-climactic to introduce at the end of the third nocturn items which were not even proper to the saint in whose honour the Office was composed. For this reason, proper antiphons and responsories were composed at Durham, in order to sustain the momentum and sense of climax to the end of matins for the feast of St Cuthbert. This climactic effect is further enhanced by the fact that the newly-composed twelfth responsory, *Athleta Domini Cuthbertus*, is longer and more elaborate than any of the preceding ones.¹⁵

The following comparison of second-mode responsories from the Offices of SS Cuthbert and Oswald is intended to show some of the ways in which the later chants, presumably composed at Durham in the late eleventh century, differ from the earlier Cuthbert Office, and

¹⁴For details of these manuscripts and the Common items used, see Hohler, *The Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 188-90.

¹⁵See Appendix III, pp. 184-5.

thereby shed some light on the method of composition of the later pieces. These are the responsories which are to be compared:

*In sanctis crescens*¹⁶, Matins Responsory 2 from the Secular Office of St Cuthbert (hereafter referred to as C-MR2);
*Prenunciante cuthberto*¹⁷, Matins Responsory 10 from the Monastic Office of St Cuthbert (C-MR10);
*Hec crux oswaldi*¹⁸, Matins Responsory 2 from the Office of St Oswald (O-MR2).

As the first point of comparison, let us consider the tones used for the verses. There is an obvious difference between the earlier example, C-MR2, whose verse uses the standard responsorial tone of Mode 2, and the later pair, C-MR10 and O-MR2, whose verses depart from the norm. The responsorial tones, being the most complex of psalmodic recitations, have not just one, but two reciting notes (in the case of Mode 2, F in the first half of the verse, and D in the second half). They also have elaborate melodic formulæ for the intonation, mediation and termination¹⁹. Although the verses of C-MR10 and O-MR2 may appear to be freely composed, many of the melodic units from which they are constructed are in fact derived from the standard verse tone of Mode 2. Thus, in terms of the standard tone, the verse of C-MR10 could be described as follows: intonation; termination; recitation on F; mediation; free ending. Similarly, the verse of O-MR2 consists of the following standard components: intonation; termination; recitation on F; termination; short free ending.

This process of re-ordering standard melodic units may reveal something of the creative intentions of the composer (or compiler). If it is assumed that he was a member of the monastic community at Durham, it may also be assumed that he was familiar with the standard responsorial tones from the daily singing of matins in choir. This being the case, the decision to depart from these tones must have been a conscious one. The fact that these "free" responsorial tones rely heavily on the standard tone for their melodic material suggests two possible methods of composition: either the re-ordering

¹⁶Appendix III, p. 173.

¹⁷Appendix III, p. 182.

¹⁸Appendix III, p. 210.

¹⁹For a detailed analysis of the melodic formulæ of the responsories of matins, see Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, vol. 1, pp. 5-61, and Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), pp. 330-343.

of standard phrases was the unconscious result of an attempt to compose freely; or it was a deliberate and conscious decision. The first of these possibilities seems unlikely to be true, since other "free" verses in the Offices of Cuthbert and Oswald are entirely unrelated to the standard tones. If, on the other hand, the re-ordering was deliberate, there must have been some reason for it, such as to make the verses accord with prevailing trends in modality.

An example of how a change in modal aesthetics might result in melodic modification may be seen in the termination of the verse of C-MR2. Whereas the standard verse tone in Mode 2 ends on the subfinal, in this case it is altered so as to end on the final of the mode, suggesting that at the time of its composition, it had become unacceptable for a second-mode responsory verse to terminate on the subfinal. In both of the later responsories, the standard termination formula is used in its original form ending on the subfinal, but its function is changed to that of mediation. The actual termination in each case is on the final. In the verse of O-MR2, the standard termination formula is used in both halves of the verse, but in the second half, four notes are added, making the verse end on the final, and also creating a musical rhyme with the end of the respond. The overall result of such modifications is a verse which, although based on standard phrases, conforms them closely to the rhyming couplet of the text: the first line is marked by an *ouvert* cadence on the subfinal, and the second is melodically similar but with *clos* cadence on the final. This plan is seen most clearly in O-MR2, whose text has the simplest rhyme scheme. It seems reasonable, therefore, to view the rejection of the standard responsorial verse tones in late responsories such as C-MR10 and O-MR2, not as a sign of decadence, but as evidence of musical development and modal sensitivity.

Further comparison of C-MR2 with C-MR10 shows that the later composer was concerned to make the new responsories harmonize stylistically with the earlier Office. For instance, they both share the same melodic range (A-a), the same number of lines (7 in the respond, 4 in the verse), and are of similar overall length. Both are similarly melismatic in style, and have longer melismas in the final line of the respond (C-MR2 on *est*, with 15 notes and a range of a 5th, and C-MR10 on *migraret*, with 14 notes and a range of a 5th).

The two chants differ mainly in the cadence structure of their responds. In C-MR2, the cadences vary between the final and subfinal, whereas in C-MR10 all the cadences are on the final. In C-MR2, no cadence formula is exactly the same as any other, but in C-MR10, 5 of the total 7 are virtually identical. The creator of the later chant seems to show more awareness of the overall structure of the responsory in performance, both in the text and melody: the rhymes are arranged so that each section of the responsory has the same verbal rhyme (*eum, dominum, exauditum, dominum*); the two halves of the respond have almost identical opening melodies, with the result that the beginnings of the four sections in performance take the form AABA, even the B section (verse intonation) having its first four notes in common with the other sections; finally, the important second section of the respond (from *ut pariter*), which is repeated after the verse, consists of two well balanced lines, with similar cadences, and which cover the full octave range between them. The respond of C-MR2, on the other hand, has only a short second section of one line, whose range is only a fifth. Another striking feature of C-MR10 is that, in almost every case, the verbal accent (i.e. the stressed syllable) of each word has a corresponding musical accent, usually provided by the use of a longer melisma for that syllable.

If any conclusion may be drawn from this limited comparison, it is that the later chants are much more modally stable, having a tendency to end each line on the final of the mode, whereas the earlier responsories are more likely to use standard melodic formulæ associated with responsories in a particular mode. The later chants have a tendency to adapt the older style to meet the demands imposed by a rhyming text, and emphasise the rhyme scheme by clear cadences and the verbal accent by melismas.²⁰

²⁰These general points, while based on the comparison of second-mode responsories, are borne out by comparing responsories of the other seven modes.

THE ROLE OF THE SCOTTISH MONARCHY IN THE RESTORATION OF NORTHERN MONASTICISM

Although Lanfranc, in his position as first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, exerted a major influence over the restored monasteries of northern Britain, the initial impulse for the foundation of one of the most important of these monasteries came from the saintly Queen Margaret of Scotland. Before her reign, as consort to Malcolm Canmore, monasticism of the Benedictine type was entirely absent from the Scottish kingdom. Such religious life as there was consisted of the Culdees, either living the eremitical life in cells, or living in community in a manner resembling that of the later secular colleges. Of their liturgy virtually nothing survives, but it is likely that it closely resembled that of the early Irish missionaries to Scotland. St Margaret is often said to have "anglicised" or "romanised" the Church in Scotland, but in fact she was tolerant of the Culdees, and even bestowed gifts on the community at Loch Leven. She did however choose as her confessor Turgot, Prior of Durham (and later Bishop of St Andrew's), and it was probably at his suggestion that she asked Lanfranc to send three monks from Canterbury to form a Benedictine community at Dunfermline. Evidence for this is found in the reply sent by Lanfranc to Queen Margaret's request to be sent monks from Canterbury:

I am sending your glorious husband and yourself our very dear brother Dom Goldwin as you asked me to, and two other brothers with him; for he could not accomplish single-handed what is required in God's service and your own. I do most urgently entreat you to strive to complete the work that you have begun for God and your souls' welfare as quickly and effectively as you can. Should you be able to achieve it with the help of others, or wish to do so, we most fervently desire that our own monks should return to us, for in the positions they held they were really indispensable to our church. But let it be your decision: in all respects we entirely desire to render you obedience.²¹

²¹Mitto glorioso viro tuo et tibi carissimum fratrem nostrum domnum Goldevvinum secundum petitionem tuam, alios quoque duos fratres; quia quod de servitio Dei et vestro fieri oportet solus ipse per se explere non posset. Et rogo multumque rogo quatinus quod pro Deo et pro animabus vestris coepistis instanter et efficaciter perficere studeatis. Et si possetis aut velletis opus vestrum per alios adimplere,

This letter can be dated between 1070 and 1089, and the "work...begun" at that time was the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey, which under the royal patronage of Queen Margaret and her sons became one of the most prestigious Scottish monasteries. It is not known how long Prior Goldwin and his companions stayed at the new house, but from their presence it seems reasonable to assume that the main liturgical influence on Dunfermline would have been that of the mother house, Lanfranc's own monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. In the absence of concrete evidence, such speculation would be of limited value, but the necessary proof does indeed exist, in the form of a fifteenth-century psalter now in the municipal library of Boulogne-sur-Mer (MS 92). From an inscription at the base of the first folio, this book appears to have been made for Richard Bothwel, Abbot of Dunfermline from 1445-1468, and although incomplete, there is sufficient material amongst the kalendar entries and litanies to identify its liturgical provenance as Dunfermline Abbey. The relevant kalendar entries are as follows:

- [14 January] Kentegnerni ep. VIII lect.
- [1 February] Brigide virg. In Albis (red letters)
- [3 February] Blasii ep. et mart. XII lect. (red letters)
- [10 February] Scolastice virg. VIII lect.
- Austroberte virg. IIII lect.

- [March-August lacking]

- [4 September] Cuthberti ep. In Albis (red letters)
- [16 September] Niniani ep. et conf. VIII lect.
- [9 October] Dionisii sociorumque eius. XII lect. (red letters)
- [10 October] Paulini ep. et conf. XII lect. (red letters)
- [12 October] Vilfridi ep. et conf. XII lect.
- [21 October] Ordinacio s. Dunstani XII lect.
- [16 November] Transitus sancte Margarite, Scotorum regine (red letters)
- [20 November] Edmundi regis et mart. XII lect.
- [29 December] S. Thome mart. Cantuariensis archiep. (red letters)

The gradings of four, eight and twelve lessons, and *In Albis* all indicate a Benedictine monastery; the inclusion of Kentigern and Ninian point to Scotland, and the *Transitus* of St Margaret, Queen of

multo desiderio vellemus hos fratres nostros ad nos redire, quia valde in officiis suis necessarii erant aecclisae nostrae. Fiat tamen voluntas vestra, quia in omnibus et per omnia desideramus oboedire vobis.

Taken from *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. & tr. Helen Clover & Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979). Letter 50, pp. 160-1.

Scots suggests Dunfermline, the only foundation dedicated to her (as well as to the Holy Trinity). These conclusions are further supported by the litanies: the double invocations of Benedict and Margaret indicate a Benedictine house dedicated to Margaret, and in addition to Ninian and Kentigern, there are the Scottish saints Columba, Duthac, Serf, Movan, Ebba, and a rare invocation of St Margaret's youngest son David, King of Scots, whose tomb was also at Dunfermline. Even more interesting, however, are the strong signs of affinity with Christ Church, Canterbury, preserved in this psalter written nearly four centuries after the original foundation. Some of the kalendar entries suggestive of Canterbury are common to most insular monastic kalendars, and for this reason their presence alone would not be sufficient to show Canterbury affinity. The obvious example is St Thomas of Canterbury, whose main feast on 29 December was so universally observed as to be inconclusive with regard to provenance. Two other examples are Wilfrid and Paulinus, whose high grading at Canterbury reflects the fact that their relics were claimed by Christ Church. As can be seen, they are also highly graded (with twelve lessons) in the Dunfermline kalendar. Two other feasts, however, are unequivocally characteristic of Christ Church, Canterbury. These are the Ordination of St Dunstan on 21 October (his widely-kept feast of deposition fell on 19 May), and St Austroberta (whose relics were possessed by Christ Church) on 10 February. Thus it can be seen that Dunfermline Abbey retained, at least until the middle of the fifteenth century, some trace of the liturgy which must have been brought from Christ Church, Canterbury, by Goldwin and his companions in the late eleventh century.

It was not until 1128, in the reign of Queen Margaret's sixth son, David I, that Dunfermline took on the status of a Benedictine Abbey. By this time there was also another Benedictine house in Scotland, Coldingham Priory, which had been founded as a dependent priory of Durham some time after 1098, when lands at Coldingham were granted to Durham Cathedral Priory by King Edgar of Scotland. It is likely that this small foundation would have conformed to the liturgical use of its mother house of Durham, and indeed the thirteenth-century breviary which survives from Coldingham Priory

(Lbl Harley 4664) seems to have been used not only at Coldingham, but also at Durham Cathedral Priory and even Durham College, Oxford, during the course of its active life. One unique feature of this manuscript is the inclusion of a full Rhymed Office for St Ebba, in whose honour Coldingham Priory was dedicated. (See Appendix III, p. 217.)

Further expansion of the unreformed "Black" Benedictines was limited to one other abbey (Iona, refounded c.1203) and three small dependent priories. The reason for this sluggish growth was almost certainly the huge influx into Scotland of the newly-founded "reformed" orders, either directly from France, or in some cases via England. Many of these new religious houses were founded and endowed by David I (1084-1153) before his accession to the Scottish throne, while he was still Earl of Northumbria. The first of any of the new orders to be introduced to Britain were the Tironensians, to whom David granted lands at Selkirk in 1113. The Order of Tiron had been founded only shortly before this date (in 1109) by St Bernard of Tiron, as a congregation of reformed Benedictines at a place named Tiron in the Province of Perches, and the diocese of Chartres. Its main aim, which was to interpret the Rule of St Benedict in a more primitive and ascetic manner than was commonly the case among Black Benedictines and Cluniacs, was similar to that of the Savignacs and Cistercians. In its hierarchical structure, the Order of Tiron more closely resembled the Cluniac Order, with the mother house maintaining a certain degree of control by means of general chapter meetings, but allowing greater autonomy to individual abbeys than in the Cistercian Order.

Although the Tironensians never possessed more than about a hundred houses throughout Europe, they maintained their independence in France until the French Revolution, and in Scotland until the Reformation. In England, the order had virtually no influence, its presence being restricted to two small cells (Andwell and Hamble) which were dependent on the mother house, and later suppressed as alien priories. In Wales, there was an abbey (St Dogmael's) and two dependent priories (Caldey and Pill), but in Scotland the Tironensians achieved a disproportionately high influence. By 1285 seven houses had been founded, including four

abbeys, two of which (Kelso and Arbroath) came to be ranked among the foremost abbeys of the country. The Abbot of Kelso was the first Scottish abbot to be granted the mitre and episcopal ornaments by the pope in 1165, and this gave him precedence among the abbots in parliament. King David seems to have had a particular affinity for the order, as demonstrated by the fact that, on his accession to the throne, he moved Selkirk Abbey to Kelso, which was adjacent to his royal palace at Roxburgh. He also made gifts in perpetuity to the mother house of Tiron, as well as bestowing rich endowments on the order in Scotland.

In order to assess the influence which the Order of Tiron exerted upon monastic liturgy in Scotland, the method adopted will be the same as that previously used in the present chapter, that is, to construct a likely model from the known historical facts, then to test this model against the surviving liturgical manuscripts.

The first task will be to investigate the circumstances leading to the creation of the Order of Tiron, and the monastic background of its founder, St Bernard of Tiron. This task is facilitated by the existence of a contemporary *vita* by Geoffrey le Gros, who was a monk (and eventually Chancellor) of the Abbey of Tiron, and a disciple of St Bernard.²² The *vita* can be dated between 1137 and 1149, since it was commissioned by Geoffrey de Leves, Bishop of Chartres from 1115 to 1149, and mentions the death of Louis VI le Gros, which took place in 1137.²³ From Geoffrey's account, we learn that St Bernard was born in Ponthieu, near Abbeville. At the age of twenty, in about 1073, he entered the abbey of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. After ten years he was sent by Raynaud, abbot of S.-Cyprien, to re-establish monastic observance at S.-Savin, along with another monk named Gervais. The latter became abbot of S.-Savin, and appointed Bernard as prior. Later, a dispute arose between abbot

²²The original manuscript of Geoffrey le Gros' *vita* of St Bernard of Tiron does not survive, the earliest version being a thirteenth-century copy made by a monk of Tiron for the archives of Tiron Abbey. It is printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. Aprilis II, pp. 220-254. (St Bernard's feast was kept on 14 April.)

²³For a discussion of the *vita* and the life of St Bernard, see Jacques de Bascher, "La "Vita" de S. Bernard d'Abbeville, Abbé de S.-Cyprien de Poitiers et de Tiron." in *Revue Mabillon* 59 (1979-80), pp. 411-450.

and prior concerning a chapel which Gervais wished to buy for the profit of the abbey. Bernard, who considered this transaction to be tainted with simony, succeeded in having the abbot expelled, and took control of the abbey. In 1100, Bernard was elected abbot of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers in succession to abbot Raynaud, but his election was contested by Cluny, who claimed that they had the right to be consulted in the appointment. Bernard went to Rome to appeal directly to Pope Pascal II, but the pope upheld the rights of Cluny, and Bernard was suspended from his abbatial functions. It was perhaps this experience which made him feel increasingly that he was called to the eremitical life. Consequently, in 1108 or 1109 he sought permission from Rotrou III, Count of Perche, to establish a hermitage in his domains. Rotrou granted him a site at Tiron, on the edge of the vast Forest of Perche, and it was here that Bernard, with the help of a few devoted disciples, erected a small chapel where he first celebrated Mass on Easter Day, 1109. Bernard's reputation for holiness spread rapidly throughout the surrounding region, and soon many other monks joined the first pioneers in their austere monastic observance. Thus began the Abbey of Tiron, and before his death in 1116, Bernard was able to initiate the construction in stone of monastic buildings and the abbey church, dedicated to St Mary and the Holy Trinity.

Whether or not St Bernard actually intended to create a new religious order when he departed from S.-Cyprien de Poitiers, almost immediately priories began to spread from the abbey of Tiron, not only in the surrounding area of Perche, but throughout Europe. This rapid expansion has a bearing on the liturgical development of the order, because the new priories began to be formed at a time when there was scarcely any opportunity for a distinctive liturgy to have evolved at the mother house. This fact is especially pertinent in the case of Selkirk, which was founded in 1113, only four years after the foundation of Tiron itself. Thus, where it would usually be reasonable to assume that a daughter foundation would perpetuate the liturgical customs of its mother house, here such an assumption is less reliable. Furthermore, even if it could be shown that a distinctive Tironensian liturgy did eventually develop at Tiron, it is only the liturgy used during the first four years which is likely to have influenced the

liturgy of Selkirk Abbey. Of course, one should not rule out the possibility that subsequent developments at the mother house could have been passed on to daughter foundations, but this would depend on the frequency of contact between the two monasteries, and the degree of autonomy granted to the newer house.

It seems almost inevitable that the liturgy of Tiron, at least during the years of St Bernard's abbacy, must have been heavily influenced by that of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers, where Bernard had spent all his previous monastic life, except for his sojourn as prior of S.-Savin. It is worth noting that S.-Cyprien de Poitiers had come under the influence of Cluny from the beginning of the eleventh century, and by the time of St Bernard's association with the abbey, it was considered as a dependent of Cluny. Therefore a certain Cluniac influence might be expected in the liturgy of the Order of Tiron.

It now remains to examine the relevant manuscripts, in order to establish the extent to which they confirm the expectations outlined above. There are, to my knowledge, only two surviving manuscripts from Tironensian houses in Scotland: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16495, a thirteenth-century missal from Lesmahagow Priory (a dependent priory of Kelso Abbey); and London, British Library, Add. MS 8930, a kalendar fragment from Arbroath Abbey. This last manuscript, while being of limited value in that it consists only of a portion of a kalendar from January to April, accords almost exactly in its choice of feasts with the *sanctorale* of the Lesmahagow Missal, thus showing that a high degree of uniformity existed, at least as far as the kalendar is concerned, between the different Tironensian monasteries of Scotland.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LESMAHAGOW MISSAL (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16495)

The Lesmahagow Missal was first brought to the attention of liturgical scholars by Monsignor David McRoberts in his *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953). It is a manuscript missal of 166 folios, written on vellum in a

thirteenth-century gothic hand (and rebound in calf skin in the present century). It was formerly in the private collection of Sir Sydney Cockerell, who acquired it at a Sotheby's auction in 1946.

On the strength of the votive masses of St Kentigern (ff. 115 and 161v), McRoberts assigned the missal to the diocese of Glasgow (whose patron was St Kentigern), and from the votive mass of St Machutus, concluded that it was written for the Tironensian Priory of Lesmahagow (a daughter house of Kelso Abbey), which possessed relics of St Machutus.

The contents of the missal are as follows:

ff. 1-98v: *Temporale* beginning with *dominica prima in adventu domini* and ending with *dominica xxiv post pentecostes* (Scribe I) (f. 45v: Added in margin in fourteenth-century court hand, the mass for the feast of *Corpus Christi*)

ff. 99-100: *Missæ pro defunctis* and *missa pro pace* (Scribe I)

f. 100v: Various additions in court hand (Nicene Creed, forms of excommunication and confession)

ff. 101-107v: *Canon Missæ* (Scribe II)

ff. 108-115v: *Missæ votivæ* beginning with *de sancta trinitate* and ending with *de sancto thome* (Scribe I)

ff. 115v-157v: *Sanctorale* beginning with *missa in vigilia sancto andrea* and ending with *de sancti saturnini, martyris* (Scribe I)

ff. 157v-166: *Commune sanctorum* (Scribe I)

ff. 166-166v: *In purificatione sancte marie, benedictio ignis* (Scribe III)

There are also four leaves, of a later date than the main text, bound in at the beginning of the missal (foliation A-D), and of paper rather than vellum. They contain musical intonations for the *gloria in excelsis* and *credo*, and proper prefaces for the liturgical year. The music is written in square notation on four red lines, and probably dates from the early fourteenth century.

McRoberts noticed several unusual features in the *sanctorale*, and concluded that

"the curious mixture of English and Scottish local feasts in this manuscript... points to an early period in the adaptation of the Sarum Use to Scotland and perhaps indicates that it was through these newly-founded religious houses that the Sarum Use was made popular in Scotland."²⁴

Neil Ker, however, having examined the missal when compiling the second volume of *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford,

²⁴McRoberts, *Catalogue*, p.4.

1975), discovered that the Alleluia versicles for the Sundays after Pentecost were in the order which is characteristic of the Cluniac missal. This connection with Cluny is not unexpected in a Tironensian missal, since the founder of the Order of Tiron underwent a Cluniac formation at S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. Comparison of these Alleluia versicles is the normal means of distinguishing the liturgical affinity of missals, but in order to reveal the various stages of evolution of a particular missal, a more detailed study is necessary.

THE SANCTORALE OF THE LESMAHAGOW MISSAL

One of the most common ways of distinguishing between manuscripts and assigning their provenance is by a study of the liturgical kalendar, which is usually incorporated at the beginning of a liturgical book. The Lesmahagow Missal contains no such kalendar, so any discussion of saints' feasts must be based on the *sanctorale*. This is no great disadvantage, and indeed has a positive advantage, in that we can certainly equate the inclusion of a feast with provision of liturgy. Such an equation is not always reliable when considering liturgical kalendars, since kalendars were often prepared separately from the main text of a manuscript, and usually include many more feasts than the *sanctorale*, partly because liturgy for minor feasts would presumably have been supplied from the *commune sanctorum*, and partly because kalendars were often updated with new feasts, which were not necessarily incorporated into the main body of the text. The most immediately striking feature of the Lesmahagow *sanctorale* is not its inclusion of unusual feasts, but rather its omission of feasts which might be expected. For instance, in a missal which is demonstrably of Cluniac affinity, it is surprising to encounter a complete absence of distinctive Cluniac saints, such as Odo and Odilo (early abbots of Cluny). The omission of Odo and Odilo from the Lesmahagow Missal cannot be explained by suggesting that the period of contact with a Cluniac foundation must have pre-dated the promulgation of these feasts, since they were introduced into the Cluniac kalendar by central authority in 942 and 1049 respectively²⁵,

²⁵G. de Valou, *Le Monachisme Clunisien des Origines au XVe siècle*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1935), p.421.

and as we have already seen, St Bernard of Tiron was a Cluniac monk from c.1073 until he left to become a hermit at Tiron in 1109. The only feasible explanation is that Cluniac saints were "edited out" of the Tironensian kalendar, either immediately following the foundation of the Order, or later on in Scotland.

The next surprising feature in a missal written for use in a Scottish priory, is the absence of Scottish feasts. Despite McRoberts' comment (quoted above) about "the curious mixture of English and Scottish local feasts", there is in fact only one Scottish feast included in the missal. Moreover, the saint in question, St Kentigern, is represented not by an appropriate entry in the *sanctorale* at January 13th, but by a votive mass. The omission of Scottish feasts is the more surprising, given that the likely date of the missal is over a century after the Tironensians came to Scotland: adequate time, it might be thought, for even a new French order to have assimilated some local features.

The English feasts, although more numerous than the Scottish, are very few in comparison with even the most basic Sarum kalendar. They are listed below:

St Cuthbert (20 March)
St Guthlac (11 April)
St Dunstan (19 May)
St Augustine (26 May)
St Alban (22 June)
St Oswald (5 August)
Translation of St Cuthbert (4 September)
St Edmund (20 November)
St Thomas of Canterbury (29 December)

It seems reasonable to assume that the liturgy for these feasts would have been copied from an English source. Since the Tironensians were Benedictines (albeit reformed ones), and all the above feasts were highly graded in English Benedictine kalendars²⁶, the most likely exemplar would have been an English Benedictine missal. However, on comparing the collects, secrets and postcommunions for the English feasts in the Lesmahagow Missal with those in other insular manuscripts²⁷, it is found that only those for St Cuthbert

²⁶cf. F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (2 vols., London, 1938-43).

²⁷The manuscripts used for this comparison are those collated by J. Wickham Legg in *Missale Westmonasteriensis*, vol. III.

(the Deposition) and St Thomas of Canterbury agree with the insular uses. Five of the remaining seven feasts adapt from the Gregorian Sacramentary proper prayers originally used for other feasts²⁸, leaving the masses for St Augustine of Canterbury and the Translation of St Cuthbert apparently unique to the Lesmahagow Missal. The identity of the prayers for St Cuthbert and St Thomas of Canterbury with those found in English manuscripts does not prove any direct connection with an insular source, since these are the only two insular saints whose feasts are almost universally included in continental kalendars.

If, then, an insular missal is ruled out as an exemplar for the Lesmahagow Missal, or even for the insular feasts included in it, what are the remaining possibilities? On the strength of the Gregorian adaptations for English feasts, the Gregorian Sacramentary seems a likely candidate for the earliest layer of the manuscript. Upon comparison of the Lesmahagow Missal with the Gregorian Sacramentary, it is apparent that all the distinctively Gregorian feasts (i.e. those of the early Roman martyrs) are present, and that for all these feasts, the Gregorian collects, secrets and postcommunions are employed. Thus it may be stated that the fundamental layer of influence on the missal is certainly the Gregorian Sacramentary. This statement, however, is limited in its usefulness, since many contemporary uses shared such influence (though not the Sarum Use, whose proper prayers, particularly postcommunions, differed substantially from the Gregorian, even for distinctively Gregorian feasts²⁹).

The remaining layer of the *sanctorale*, that is, those parts which are neither English nor Gregorian, must then provide the most enlightening evidence of the origins of the missal. This layer consists primarily of feasts associated with the Gelasian Sacramentary, such as feasts of the apostles; a group of Church Fathers:

St Benedict (21 March)
Translation of St Benedict (11 July)
St Augustine of Hippo (28 August)
St Jerome (30 September);

and some important French feasts:

²⁸See H.A. Wilson (ed.), *The Gregorian Sacramentary* (London, 1915)
²⁹cf. J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916)

St Hilary (13 January)
 St Maur (15 January)
 Translation of St Martin (4 July)
 St German (31 July)
 St Martin (11 November)
 St Brice (13 November).

Up to this point, the combination of these feasts with those of the Gregorian Sacramentary is compatible with the earliest surviving Cluniac manuscripts, such as *Breviarium lectionum per annum secundum Cluniacum*, which dates from the tenth century.³⁰

Comparison with a slightly later Cluniac manuscript³¹ shows an even closer affinity, and explains the presence in the Lesmahagow Missal of certain feasts of early French martyrs which are very rarely found in insular manuscripts. These are as follows:

SS Felix, Fortunatus & Achilles (23 April), martyred at Valence, c.212³²;
 SS Donation & Rogation (24 May), martyred at Nantes, c.286; [also found in Cistercian kalendars, e.g. that of Culross³³]
 St Reverian (1 June), martyred at Autun, c.272;
 St Julian (28 August), martyred at Brivat, Auvergne, c.304;
 SS Vitalis & Agricola (27 November), martyred at Florence, fourth century; [also in Cistercian kalendars]

While this kalendar evidence seems to indicate that the Lesmahagow Missal has a significant affinity with Cluniac books, this must be weighed against the complete absence of Cluniac saints.

The next stage in analysing the Lesmahagow Missal is to collate it with other insular and continental missals. A starting point in this process is to compare it with those missals collated by Wickham Legg in *Missale Westmonasteriensis*, volume III. Although this reveals striking differences between the Lesmahagow book and other insular missals, the comparison is of limited value, since Wickham Legg included no Cluniac missal, insular or continental, in his analysis. The next logical step, therefore, is to make a detailed comparison between the Lesmahagow Missal and a thirteenth-century Cluniac missal-

³⁰Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 13.371. See de Valou, *Le Monachisme clunisien*, p.397.

³¹*Ordo Cluniacensi Monachi Bernardi*. See de Valou, *Le Monachisme clunisien*, p.396.

³²For places and dates of martyrdom, see S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, 15 vols. (Oxford, 1915)

³³cf. A.P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872)

breviary (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369), from Lewes Priory in Sussex. The main fact to emerge from this comparison is the high degree of correspondence between the two manuscripts. For example, of the 157 masses contained in the Lesmahagow *sanctorale*, only the eight listed below are absent from the Lewes missal-breviary:

St Prisca (18 January)
St Julian (27 January)
St Brigid (1 February)
St Guthlac (11 April)
St Tyburtius and companions (14 April)³⁴
Translation of St Cuthbert (4 September)
SS Pelagia & Demetrius (8 October)
St Machutus (15 November).

The unusual occurrence of SS Machutus, Pelagia and Demetrius in the Lesmahagow Missal is readily explained by the fact that Lesmahagow Priory possessed relics of these three saints.

On the other hand, the Lewes *sanctorale* contains a large number of feasts (mainly of distinctively Cluniac saints) which are not found in the Lesmahagow Missal.

It would not be sufficient only to compare the names of saints included in the *sanctorale*, since it would be possible for the two books to have similar kalendars, but a very different choice of chants and prayers for each feast. In fact, the choice of mass chants in the Lesmahagow Missal coincides with that of the Lewes Missal-breviary in a remarkably high number of cases, and the few exceptions can mostly be explained by a different choice having been made from the *commune sanctorum* at the time the *sanctorale* for each book was compiled. The same high degree of concordance is found in the prayers of the *sanctorale*, and this fact, taken in conjunction with the identical post-Pentecost *alleluia* series, means that the Lesmahagow book must have been very closely based on a Cluniac exemplar.

³⁴There are two masses for St Tyburtius in the Lesmahagow Missal, the first for Eastertide, and another in case the feast falls before Eastertide. The missal-breviary of Lewes has the mass for Eastertide, but not the other.

In conclusion, it may be said that although the first Cluniac foundation in Scotland (Paisley Abbey) did not take place until 1163, the Cluniac liturgy had in fact been in use for half a century before this in the monasteries of the Order of Tiron, first at Selkirk from 1113 to 1128, then at Kelso and its daughter house of Lesmahagow, which had been founded by David I in 1144. This fact was obscured by the removal of all traces of Cluniac saints from the Tironensian kalendar, a move which perhaps reflects the austerity of the founder, or the personal dispute which St Bernard had had with Cluny over his appointment as abbot of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. Whatever the reason, it is clear that Cluny was rivalled only by Christ Church, Canterbury, in its liturgical influence on the post-Conquest monastic revival in Northern Britain.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

One of the aims of the present study was to discover whether there was any form of liturgical continuity between the early period of Northumbrian monasticism in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the period of renewal following the Norman Conquest. During the course of the previous chapters, evidence has been introduced which suggests that certain elements from the early period did indeed survive into the eleventh century and beyond.

Among the most significant findings which have emerged from the study is the fact that, despite the complete physical destruction of the Northumbrian monasteries during the eighth and ninth centuries, it is almost certain that the daily singing of the divine office, in the form outlined in the Rule of St Benedict, continued without interruption from the first introduction of the Rule by St Wilfrid in the second half of the seventh century, until it was given new impetus by the resurgence of Benedictine monasticism after the Conquest. Moreover, at the very time when the divine office at Durham was temporarily changed to a secular use under Bishop Walcher, the monastic rite was brought back to Jarrow by Aldwin and his companions, and soon spread to Whitby, Durham and St Mary's, York.

Similarly, the archetypal Roman order of matins responsories, which was almost certainly absorbed into the monastic liturgy of Jarrow and Wearmouth, Ripon, Hexham and Lindisfarne, seems to have survived by equally precarious means. When its survival was threatened, in this case by the introduction of Norman liturgical customs and books at Durham under the influence of Lanfranc, it was perpetuated in the office books of St Mary's, York, in a form probably imported by Aldwin from the Mercian monasteries of Evesham and Winchcombe.

Finally, it can be stated without too high a degree of audacity, that from the day of St Cuthbert's death in 687, no subsequent day passed without his name being invoked and his prayers asked, until the suppression of the cult at the Reformation. This cult of St Cuthbert, the growth of which was due largely to the devotion and courage of the Lindisfarne monks and their successors, brought forth

much artistic fruit, most notably the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Rhymed Office of St Cuthbert, and the Cathedral Priory of Durham, built as a fitting shrine for the incorrupt body of the saint.

In the eighty years which elapsed between Aldwin's initially modest revival of monastic life amid the ruins of Jarrow, and the death of King David of Scotland in 1153, Benedictine monasticism regained its former splendour in the lands north of the Humber. After this period, which was characterised by an intense creativity, in terms of both liturgy and architecture, the Benedictine monasteries continued to prosper, but never regained their initial creative impetus. By the end of the twelfth century, the supremacy of the autonomous houses of Black Monks was already beginning to be challenged by the new reformed Benedictine orders, particularly the Tironensians and Cistercians, which both derived ultimately from Cluny. The centralised authority of these orders was reflected in greater uniformity of liturgy, so that liturgical books became much more standardised and less influenced by local characteristics (and consequently, of less interest to the liturgiologist). Alongside the reformed Benedictines, however, the orders of Canons Regular were gaining steadily in power and influence. This was particularly true in Scotland, where in addition to the possession of many priories, they controlled two of the Cathedrals (Augustinians at St Andrews, and Premonstratensians at Whithorn), which also housed two of the most important shrines, those of St Andrew and St Ninian. While the liturgy of the northern Canons Regular lies outside the scope of the present study- in fact it properly belongs within a study of secular uses, since the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians both used a secular form of the office -this field would undoubtedly provide fertile ground for further study.

APPENDIX I

LITURGICAL AFFINITY OF THE DURHAM MISSAL (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289)

(Extrapolated from J. Wickham Legg's collation of missals in *Missale ad Usus Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, vol.III (Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1897))

Abbreviations used:

- Abin= Abingdon Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 227; 15th century)
Alb=St Alban's Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 279; 14th century)
Aug=*The Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. Martin Rule (Cambridge, 1896)
Chart=*Missale Carthusiense* (Paris, 1541)
Cisterc=*Missale ad usum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (Paris, 1617)
Cout=Coutance: *Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constancien. diopceses institutum* (Rouen, 1557)
D=Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289; 14th century)
Dom=Dominican (*Missale predicatorum*, Venice, 1504)
G=Gelasian Sacramentary in *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venice, 1748) [LRV]
Gr=Gregorian Sacramentary. LRV
H=Hereford (*Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesie Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874)
L=Leonine Sacramentary in LRV
Leo=*The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. Warren (Oxford, 1883)
Rom=Roman Missal (*Missale iuxta morem Romane ecclesie* (Venice, 1490)
S=Sarum Missal (*Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesie Sarum*, ed. F.H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83)
Sherb=Sherborne Missal, Alnwick Castle, c. 1400
Twk=Tewksbury Missal (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.iii.21)
Vit=London, British Library, MS Vitellius A. xviii
W=Westminster Missal of Nicholas Lytlington
Whc=Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127; 10th century)
Whit=Whitby Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. Lit. b.1; 14th century)
Y=York (Secular Use) *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis*, ed. W.G. Henderson (Gateshead, 1875).

(For further details, see Wickham Legg, pp. 1442-4)

A. LITURGY UNIQUE TO DURHAM: *TEMPORALE*

fr. vi post dca. in passione
coll' for gratiam tuam D reads spiritum sanctum

Dca. in oct. pasche (Quasimodo)
all'a v Gavisi sunt. Post dies octo. Angelus

Dca. iii post pasche
Gr Oportebat

In die pentecostes
Int. ps. Omnium... prospiciens. Iste psalmus dicatur per hanc
ebdomadam. Item psalmus Exurgat deus et dicatur in
commemoracionibus spiritus sancti per annum.

fr. iv in hebd. pentecostes. De ieiunio
Gr 1 Veni sancte spiritus
Gr 2 Loquebantur

fr. vi in hebd. pent.
(D has no mass De ieiunio)
Gr Cum essent discipuli. Factus est
Off Emitte spiritum tuum

Sabato post pent. De ieiunio
Gr 2 Spiritus domini replevit
coll 5 Deus qui tribus: common (after ut, D has adveniente
spiritu sancto)

Dca. prima post oct. pent.
D: Usque ad adventum dicantur in dominicis diebus
alternatim he prose:
Veni spiritus eternorum [Kehrein 131]
Alma chorus [Kehrein 140]
Laudes deo [?Kehrein 122]

Voce iubilantes [Kehrein 148]

Dca. xiii p.o.p.

all'a *Item v Priusquam montes*

Dca. xiv p.o.p.

all'a *Item v Preocupemus faciem*

Dca. xviii p.o.p.

all'a *v Redemptorem misit*

Dca. xxii p.o.p.

all'a *v Qui sanat or Lauda iherusalem*

Dca. xxiii p.o.p.

all'a *v Qui posuit. Laudate dominum*

Dca. xxiv p.o.p.

off. & comm. not specified in D

In anniversario dedicacionis ecclesie

all'a *v O quam metuendus. Adorabo. Fundata. Vox exultacionis (Rouen: sequitur tempore paschale: all'a v Vox exultacionis)*

Tr Qui confidunt. Montes in circuitu. Item alius tractus. Laudate dominum. Quoniam confirmata

A. LITURGY UNIQUE TO DURHAM: *SANCTORALE*

Feb 6 *SS Vedasti & Amandi*

coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis (Vit: Common of 1 Confessor not a bishop)

pco' Tua domine sacramenta suppliciter sumentes deprecamur; ut qui beatorum confessorum tuorum atque pontificum vedasti atque amandi veneramur confessionem presidia senciamus. per.

(c.f. Sarum 821 for St Wandregesilus)

Apr 11 *S. Guthlaci*

coll' Adesto domine precibus nostris (*coll'* only)
(c.f. S.712* Common of a Confessor)

May 1 *SS Philippi & Iacobi*
Gr Per manus

May 2 *S. Athanasii*
Omnia in communi
(Only W. & Sherb. have this feast, besides Durham)

May 3 *In inventione s. crucis*
Gr Salva nos. Dulce lignum
(Several others have Dulce lignum only, or Dicite in gentibus. Dulce lignum)

May 19 *S. Dunstani*
coll' Deus perhennis glorie rex et dator piissime dignare presentis diei gaudia tuo munere illustrare in quo beatissimus pontifex dunstanus eterne lucis gaudia meruit introire. Per.

May 26 *S. Bede presbyteri* (Durh. W. Sherb. Abin. only)
coll' Deus qui sanctissimi sacerdotis tui bede templum cordis sancti spiritus illustracione irradiasti; concede nobis quesumus illius obtinentibus meritis. gaudenter pervenire ad gaudia eterne felicitatis. Per. In unitate.

secre' Iubilacionis hostias servitutis per interventum beatissimi bede confessoris tui benigno quesumus omnipotens pater intuitu benedictio. et ad presentis et future vite concede prodesse prosperitatem cuncte familie. Per.

pco' Salutis nostre muneribus sollempniter suffulti. tue deus immense pietatis exoramus clementiam; ut de cuius obitur gloriamur in terris. de eius pia intercessione gratulemur in celis. Per.

May 31 *S. Petronille v.*

coll' Concede quesumus domine fidelibus tuis digne sancte virginis tue petronille celebrare sollempnia ut eius quam fideliter execuntur hic experiantur auxilium et eternis affectibus apprehendant. Per.

June 23 *Etheldrithe v.*

coll' Exaudi nos (*coll'* only)

July 6 *In oct. ap'li petri et pauli*

Gr v Venite ad me

July 11 *In Tr. S. Benedicti abbatis*

Gr v Iustus germinabit

July 15 *In Tr. S. Swithuni ep.*

coll' Exaudi domine (*coll'* only)

July 22 *S. Wandragesili conf.*

coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui anime famuli tui Wandragesili abbatis eterne beatitudinis premia contulisti. da quesumus; ut qui eius sollempnia colimus in terris eius meritis adiuvemur in celis. Per. (Sherb. has a variant of this *coll'* for the same feast; W. has a similar collect for St Philibert *MW* ii, 918)

July 24 *S. Christine v.*

coll' Concede nobis quesumus omnipotens deus (*coll'* only)

(c.f. G.643 for St Euphemia)

July 27 *SS Septem Dormientium*

coll' Deus qui sanctorum Maximiani (Gr. 181) (*coll'* only)

July 31 *S. Germani ep. & conf.*

pco' Plebs tua domine letetur tui semper (L. 401)

Aug 3 *In inventione S. Stephani*

pco' Quesumus domine salutaria repleti mysteriis (Gr. 18 for St Felix)

Sept 3 *In ordinatione S. Gregorii pape*

coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui sancte gregorio summi pontificatus officium contulisti. concede propicius ut illius suffragio a

delictorum nostrorum nexibus absoluamur et gratiam tue opitulacionis adipisci mereamur. Per.

secre' Purifica quesumus omnipotens deus mentem familie (Arbuthnot 394 for St Maurice)

poco' Redempcionis eterne poculo satiati (Arbuthnot 394 for St Maurice)

Oct 2 *S. Leodegarii ep. & mr.*

secre' Hostiam nostram quesumus domine (L. 301 for St Laurence)

poco' Sacri altaris participacione refecti (S. 927)

Oct 10 *S. Paulini ep. 7 conf.*

secre' Sancti tui nos domine ubique letificent (Gr. 15 for St Sylvester)

poco' Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut de perceptis (Gr. 15 for St Sylvester)

Nov 1 *In die omnium sanctorum*

prosa O alma [trinitas]

Nov 23 *S. Felicitatis mr.*

l'c Domine deus meus (only D., W. & Alb. specify lesson)

Dec 8 *In conceptione s. marie*

Omnia sicut in nativitate preter prosam. Hodierne lux diei

B. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM AND ONE OTHER USE. *TEMPORALE*

In vigilia epiphanie

prosa Letabundus: Y, D (if Sunday)

Dca. in LX

coll' (line 4) D & Whit read: adversa omnia tua semper protectione muniamur

Dca. in L

Gr Iacob et Ioseph: D & Rosslyn

(Most have Israel & Ioseph, S. has Israel Iacob & Ioseph)

sabbato post dca. in L

Gr Domine refugium: D & Alb

fr vi parascheves

Prayer for Jews: D & S have *oracio* (i.e. omit *non dicitur hic flectamus genua*. Sherb has *flectamus genua*)

fr iv in hebdomada pasche

prosa Psalle lirica: D & Whit (H *fr vi*)

fr v in hebd. pasche

prosa Victime paschali: D & W (Whit: none?)

fr vi in hebd. pasche

prosa Of those Uses which provide proses for this week, only D & Whit have none for Friday.

sabbato in albis

prosa As *fr vi*

Dca. iii post pascha

pco' Sacramenta. line 2: D & Cout read "deus noster" for "domine"
line 3: D & Paris read "repleant" for "instruant"

Dca. iv post pascha

Gr In die resurrectionis. Vado ad eum: D & Whit

sabbato in vigilia pentecostes

D & Whit have no *coll'* following *l'c iv*

coll' after *Tr* Sicut cervus: Deus qui in sacramento festivitatis: D & Alb (Gr. 88)

fr iii in hebd. pent.

Gr Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus sanctus procedens: D & Whit

fr iv in hebd. pent.

De ieiunio

coll' 1 Mentis nostras: D & Sherb

l'c 1 Stans petrus: D & Sherb

coll' 2 Presta quesumus omnipotens et misericors: D & Sherb

l'c 2 Per manus apostolorum: D & Sherb

ew Nemo potest: D & Sherb

(off Emitte: D & Whit(in margin))

secl' 1 Suscipe quesumus domine: D & Sherb

pco' 1 Sumentes domine: D & Sherb (Gr.93 for this day)

fr v in hebd. pent.

Gr Emitte spiritum. Repleti: D & Whit

prosa none in D or Whit

fr vi in hebd. pent.

com' 1 Spiritus ubi vult: D & Alb

sabbato post pentecosten

(The mass *de sollempnitate* at D & Sherb is *sicut in die*)

De ieiunio

coll' 1 Mentibus nostris: D & Sherb

Gr 1 Veni: D & Alb

coll' 2 Deus qui ob animarum medelam: D & Sherb (Gr.94)

Gr 3 Verbo domini: D & Alb

coll' 4 Presta quesumus omnipotens deus sic nos ab epulis: D & Sherb (Gr.94)

ep Convenit universa: D & Sherb

off Benedictus qui venit: D & Sherb

In anniversario dedicacionis ecclesie

Int ps Suscepimus deus misericordiam (as an alternative)

prosa Psallat ecclesia mater: D & H

B. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & ONE OTHER USE. *SANCTORALE*

Jan 22 *S. Vincentii*

all'a v Letabitur: D & W

prosa Precelsa seclis colitur dies: D & Whit (*Analecta liturgica* II i 138)

Jan 23 *S. Emerentiane*

secr' Munera tibi domine dicanda meritis beate emerenciane martiris tue placatus intende; et eius salutari deprecatione nosmetipsos sanctificare dignare. Per: D & Alb

pco' Supplices te rogamus: D & Alb (c.f. S.834)

Feb 3 *S. Blasii*

secr' Maiestati tue domine: D & S

pco' Mysteria quesumus domine: D & S

Feb 6 *S. Vedasti & Amandi*

secr' Propiciare domine supplicationibus: D & H

April 4 *S. Ambrosii*

coll' Deus qui beatum ambrosium: D & H

April 19 *S. Elphegi*

coll' Deus qui beatum archipresulem elphegum die hodierna dira passione occumbentem perhennem transtulisti ad gloriam. presta quesumus; ut illius adiuvemur oracionibus qui tui nominis extitit predicator gloriosus. per: D & Aug

secr' Mensis sacris quesumus domine hostiam sacrare digneris impositam; ut interventu beati archipresulis ac martyris elphegi vite nobis prospera presentis. et gaudium future beatitudinis optineat. per: D & Aug

pco' Sumptis quesumus domine muneribus sacris intercedente beato elphego archipresule ac martyre tuo a cunctis adversitatibus eruamur; et gaudiis mansuris inseramur. per: D & Aug

(Grouping is as follows for all 3 prayers: D & Aug; Alb & Sherb & Vit; W; S.)

April 25 *S. Marci ew.*

l'c Lingua sapientium: D & Alb

May 6 *S. Iohannis ante portam latinam*

ew D & Rom

May 19 *S. Dunstani*

secl' Hostiam tibi domine deus nostre devocionis offerimus quam tanto benignius quesumus suscipias. quanto eam ecclesia tua in veneracione pontificis tui dunstani diligencius commendat. per: D & Whit

pco' Assit nobis omnipotens deus beatissimi pontificis tui dunstani iugis oracio que nos illius misterii participacione dignos efficiat. in quo tocius humane salutis summa consistit. per: D & Whit

May 31 *S. Petronille v.*

secl' Hec dona petimus domine placatus intende quibus summum sacrificium continetur et morte preciosa virginis tue petronille hostia tibi placita consecratur. per: D & Cout

pco' Hec nos gracia tua petimus domine: D & Cout (G.673 for St Cecilia)

June 14 *S. Basilii ep.*

coll' Exaudi domine: D & Paris (D: *coll'* only)

June 17 *S. Botulphi abb'*

coll' Intercessio: D & Y (*coll'* only)

June 22 *S. Albani mr.*

coll' Deus qui gentem anglorum primitiis: D & Aug

June 29 *Apl' Petri & Pauli*

all'a v Tu es pastor: D & W

July 21 *S. Praxedis v.*

secreta Preces nostras quesumus domine propiciatus admitte: D & Paris (G.640)

July 22 *S. Marie Magdalene*

prosa Laus tibi christe qui es creator: D & Y (Y.ii.66)

July 22 *S. Wandragesili conf.*

colla Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui anime famuli tui wandragesili abbatis eterne beatitudinis premia contulisti. da quesumus; ut qui eius sollempnia colimus in terris eius meritis adiuvemur in celis. per: D & Sherb (var.)

July 25 *Christofori & Cucufatis*

colla Deus qui nos concedis: D & Abin (Gr.109 for SS Felicissimus & Agapitus)

July 31 *S. Germani ep. & conf.*

colla Beati confessoris tui atque pontificis germani intercessione ab omni: D & Whit

secreta Respice domine propicius super hec munera: D & Whit (L.312)

Aug 5 *S. Oswaldi regis & mr.*

prosa Regis oswalde inclita christo: D & Whit

secreta Benediccio tua domine larga descendat: D & Vit (G.644 for St Euphemia)

Aug 9 *S. Romani mr.*

poco Da quesumus domine deus noster ut sicut: D (var) & S (Gr.110 for St Laurence)

Aug 14 *Vig. assumptionis beate marie*

Int. ps. Et gaudium: D & Whit

Aug 29 *In decollacione s. iohannis baptiste*

Gr Domine prevenisti: D & Whit

prosa Organicis: D & Whit (Y.ii.203)

Oct 10 *S. Paulini ep. & conf.*

coll' Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut beati: D & Y (Gr.180)

Nov 17 *S. Hilde v.*

coll' Exaudi nos deus salutaris noster: D & W (*coll'* only)

Nov 20 *S. Edmundi regis & mr.*

secl' Sacrificium devotionis nostre: for "pro... assume" D & Aug
read: "per hoc nobis salutem mentis et corporis benignus impende".

Nov 23 *S. Clementis pp & mr.*

l'c Omnis pontifex: D & Rouen

C. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & TWO OTHER USES: *TEMPORALE*

Missa in die nativitatis

prosa Celica resonent: D Whit W

(H Y Sherb By Rouen have: Christi hodierna celica resonent)

In vigilia epiphanie

Gr Tecum principium. Dixit dominus. Dominus regnavit: D Whit Alb

com In splendoribus sanctorum: D Whit Alb

sabbato post dca. prima quadragesime

Gr 1 Protector noster. Domine deus virtutum: D Y Alb

Gr 2 Propicius esto. Adiuva nos: D Y Alb

Sabbato sancto

Tr Sicut cervus: D Ev Alb immediately follows *l'c v*

fr iii in hebd. pasche

prosa Concinat orbis cunctus: D H Rouen

fr v in hebd. pasche

all'a v Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro: D Whit Alb

Dca. in oct. pasche

D Sherb Alb have two masses: Quasimodo for *missa matutinalis*
and Resurrexi for *missa maior*

Dca. infra oct. ascensionis

Gr Ascendit deus in iubilacione. Non vos: D Whit Sherb
prosa Victime paschali: D Whit Sherb

fr ii in hebd. pent.

Gr Veni sancte. Spiritus domine replevit: D Whit Alb

fr iii in hebd. pent.

prosa Eya musa: D S Rouen

fr iv in hebd. pent. In sollempnitate

prosa Almiphona: D Whit W (Analecta liturgica II.i.135)

fr vi in hebd. pent. In sollempnitate

Int Repleatur: D Aug Alb

pco' Sumpsimus domine sacri dona: D Whit Aug (Gr.93)

sabbato post pentecost. De ieiunio

coll' Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus ieiuniis: D
Whit Sherb (Gr.94)

ew Surgens: D Sherb Abin

secr' Ut accepta tibi: D Sherb Aug (Gr.94)

pco' Prebeant nobis domine: D Sherb Aug (Gr.95)

Dca. viii post oct. pent.

all'a v Te decet. Replebimur: D Whit Sherb

Dca. xv post oct. pent.

all'a v Quoniam deus magnus dominus: D Alb Cout

Dca. xix post oct. pent.

all'a v Laudate dominum: D Whit Alb

C. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & TWO OTHER USES: *SANCTORALE*

Jan 13 *S. Hilarii*

coll' Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris: D Aug S

Jan 15 *S. Mauri abb'*

secl' Oblatis domine ob honorem beati mauri: D Whit Aug (c.f. Rob.168)

Feb 3 *S. Blasii*

coll' Beatus martyr tuus blasius: D Sherb S

April 4 *S. Ambrosii*

secl' Presentis oblacionis nostre: D H W

pco' Huius domine percepcione: D H W

May 26 *Augustini anglorum apostoli*

secl' Sit tibi quesumus domine nostre devocionis oblacio: D Whit Aug (in margin)

pco' Misteriis divinis refecti quesumus: D Whit Aug (in margin)

June 28 *In vig. Petri & Pauli*

Int ps. Symon iohannis: D Whit Alb

June 30 *Comm. S. Pauli*

Int ps. Reposita est mihi corona: D Sherb Alb

July 7 *In tr. s. thome archiepi. & mr.*

coll' Deus qui nobis translacionem: D Sherb Alb

(all others have "nos" for nobis (ex. Whit: S.762 for St Edmund))

July 10 *SS. septem fratrum*

pco' Quesumus omnipotens deus ut [intercedentibus sanctis tuis] illius salutaris capiamus effectum: all ex. D Aug Vit omit [...]

Aug 9 *S. Romani mr.*

coll' Intercessio quesumus domine beati romani martiris tui et tuam nobis non desinat placare iusticiam; et nostrum tibi devotum iugiter efficiat famulatum. per: D Sherb Cout

secr' Muneribus nostris quesumus domine precibusque: D S Cist (L.449)

Aug 15 *Assumptio beate marie v.*

com Dilexisti iusticiam: D Whit Chart

Sept 1 *S. Egidii abb'*

coll' Deus qui hodierna die beatum egidium: D (f.493) S 11414 (in margin)

pco' Protege domine populum tuum de tua misericordia: D (f.493) S 11414 (in margin)

Sept 14 *SS. MM. Cornelii & Cypriani*

pco' Satiati sumus domine muneribus sacris: D Whit Alb

(c.f. Abin *pco'* for St Agapitus)

Oct 1 *SS. Episcoporum Germani Remigii & Vedasti*

secr' Tibi nos quesumus domine hec hostia reddat: D Aug Alb

Nov 13 *S. Bricii ep. & conf.*

secr' Hostiam nostre quesumus domine: D Whit Aug (L.301)

pco' Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beati bricii: D Whit Aug (Gr.180 *coll'*)

Nov 20 *S. Edmundi regis & mr.*

secr' Sacrificium devotionis nostre: all, but many variants; only D Whit Aug begin exactly as above

D. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & THREE OTHER USES: *TEMPORALE*

In natali SS. innocencium

all'a v Hodie sancti innocentes: D Whit Sherb Abin

fr iv post dca. iv quadragesime

coll' preceded by "oremus" without "dominus vobiscum": D H Y S

fr v in cena domini

Benedicamus domino: D H S Cout if bishop did not celebrate (*Ite missa est* if he did)

sabbato sancto

l'c v Audi israel: D Alb Ev W

fr ii in hebd. pasche

prosa D H Rouen W

Dca. v post pascha

Gr Surrexit christus qui. Usque modo: D Whit Alb Sherb

Sabbato in vigilia pentecostes

coll' iii Deus incommutabilis virtus: D Whit Aug Alb

In die pentecostes

Int ps Omnium... prospiciens. Exurgat deus: D Whit W CCCO have both psalm verses

fr ii in hebd. pent.

prosa Resonet sacrata: D Sherb Rouen S

fr iv in hebd. pent.

D Whit Sherb Alb have two masses: *in sollempnitate & inieiunio*

Sabbato post pent. De ieiunio

Gr (in mass) Laudate dominum: D Whit Abin W

com Non vos relinquam: D Whit Alb W

Dca. vi post oct. pent.

all'a v Magnus deus et laudabilis: D Aug Alb Cout

fr iv in legitimo ieiunio (September Ember Day)

Int ps Ego enim sum dominus: D Whit Sherb Y

Dca. xviii post oct. pent.

secr' Sacrificiis presentibus: D Whit Alb Whc (Gr.124)

pco' Quesumus omnipotens deus ut illius: D Whit Alb Whc

Dca. xix post oct. pent.

coll' Tua nos quesumus domine: D Aug Alb Paris (as W col.435)

D. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & THREE OTHER USES: *SANCTORALE*

Jan 15 *S. Mauri abb'*

pco' Supplices te rogamus: D Whit Aug S

Jan 25 *In conversione s. pauli*

Gr Domine prevenisti. Magnus sanctus paulus: D Aug W Twk

Mar 7 *SS. perpetue & felicitatis*

pco' Beatarum perpetue et felicitatis: D Aug Alb Cout

Mar 25 *Annunciacione*

prosa Ave maria gracia plena: D Sherb Rouen Dom

May 6 *S. iohannis ante portam latinam*

Gr Primus ad sion. Hic est discipulus: D Alb W Cist

July 22 *S. marie magdalene*

coll' Sacratissimam domine beatam marie: D Aug Alb W

July 23 *S. Appolinaris mr.*

pco ' Sumentes domine gaudia sempiterna: D Whit Aug Alb

Aug 1 *Sanctorum Maccabeorum*

pco ' Accepta sit in conspectu tuo: D Whit Aug H (G.679)

Aug 5 *S. Oswaldis regis & mr.*

pco ' Supplices te rogamus domine deus noster ut quos celestibus donis: D Whit Sherb Vit (Gr.111 for St Laurence)

Aug 22 *Oct. Assumpcionis beate marie*

coll ' Veneranda: D Whit Rouen Paris (Gr.114) (D: *coll* ' only)

Aug 29 *In decollacione s. iohannis baptiste*

off Posuisti: D Whit Sherb S

Sept 14 *Exaltacio s. crucis*

l'c Confido in vobis: D Alb S Chart

pco ' for "perenni... perfruamur" D Whit Rouen S read: "perhennitatis eius glorie salutaris pociamur effectu"

Sept 17 *S. Lamberti ep. & mr.*

coll ' Deus qui sanctam huius diei sollempnitatem pro commemoratione sancti lamberti martiris tui atque pontificis fecisti. adesto familie tue precibus. ut qui eius merita in presenti festivitate recolimus. patrocinia in augmento virtutum senciamus. per dominum: D (end differs) Sherb Vit Cout

Oct 21 *SS. XI Millium Virginum*

secr ' Presentia munera quesumus domine: D Aug Y S

pco ' Sumpsimus domine sanctarum virginum martyrumque: D Aug Y S (G.638 for St Fabian)

Oct 31 *S. Quintini mr.*

coll ' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatum quintinum: D Whit Alb W

pco ' Percipiat domine quesumus plebs tua: D Alb W S

Nov 11 *S. Martini ep. & conf.*

Gr Iuravit. Dixit dominus: D Sherb Y Paris

Nov 20 *S. Edmundi regis & mr.*

pco' Sint tibi omnipotens deus: common. For "vite... premia", D Aug
Rouen Vit read "premia vite perpetue".

Nov 22 *S. Cecilie v. & mr.*

pco' Hec nos domine tua gracia semper exerceat: D Whit Aug Vit
(G.673)

Dec 6 *S. Nicolai ep. & conf.*

prosa Christo regi cantica: D Whit Sherb W (*Analecta liturgica*
II.i.420)

E. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & FOUR OTHER USES: *TEMPORALE*

Dca. ii Advent.

all'a v Letatus. Stantes: D Abin W Y Paris

In vig. nativitatis domini

secl' Da nobis domine ut nativitatis: D Whit Aug Alb Rouen (G.495
secl' for Christmas day)

Missa in primo mane nativitatis

prosa Letabundus: D Whit W Y By

Dca. infra oct. epiphanie

ew Venit ihesus: D Whit (*fr iv*) W Y Rouen

Sabbato sancto

Number of lessons varies greatly; D Aug Ev Y Rouen-10048 have 5
lessons.

fr iii in hebd. pasche

all'a v Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur. Laudes
salvatori: D Whit Alb Rouen Cout

Dca. ii post pascha

Gr Surrexit pator. Ego sum: D Whit Alb Sherb Abin

Dca. iv post oct. pent.

all'a v Diligam te domine virtus: D Aug Alb Y Cout

Dca. v post oct. pent.

all'a v Domine in virtute tua: D Aug Y Cout Rom

Dca. ix post oct. pent.

all'a v In te domine speravi: D Whit Aug Alb Cout

Dca. x post oct pent.

all'a v Attendite popule: D Whit Aug Alb Cout

Dca. xviii post oct. pent.

coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus: D Aug Alb Whc Leo (Gr.124 for
free Sundays)

ew Pharisei audientes: D Whit Alb W Dom

Dca. xxi post oct. pent.

all'a v De profundis: D Whit H Cist Dom

Dca. xxiv post oct. pent.

coll' Familiam tuam: D Aug Alb Whc Paris (c.f. W: col.464)

E. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & FOUR OTHER USES: *SANCTORALE*

Jan 25 *In conversione s. pauli*

prosa Sollempnitas sancti pauli: D Whit Sherb H S

off Posuisti domine: D Whit Twk Rosslyn CCCO

Jan 27 *S. Juliani*

coll' Deus qui ecclesie tue: D Rouen H S Cout

secl' Respice domine quesumus: D Rouen H S Cout

pco' Divinis domine repleti sacramentis: D Rouen H S Cout

(only above & Y W Paris Dom)

Feb 2 *In purificatione beate marie*

prosa Hac clara die turma: D Whit H S Cout

May 6 *S. Iohannis ante portam latinam*

off Confitebuntur: D Whit Rouen Cout Paris

June 11 *S. Barnabe ap.*

coll' Ecclesiam tuam domine in omni prosperitate: D Sherb Y Vit Rob

June 29 *Apl' Petri & Pauli*

prosa Laude iocunda: D W Y H S

July 11 *In Tr. S. Benedicti abbatis*

Gr Domine prevenisti: D Whit Sherb Abin W

July 20 *S. Margarete v.*

pco' Huius domine sacramenti percepcione: D Whit Y W Cout (Rouen & Paris slightly different)

July 21 *S. Praxedis v.*

coll' Assit plebi tue omnipotens: D Alb W H S

pco' Beate praxedis virginis tue domine precibus: D Sherb Vit Cout Paris

July 22 *S. Marie Magdalene*

Gr Audi filia: D Whit W S Cout

July 23 *S. Appolinaris m.*

coll' Deus fidelium remunerator animarum: D Whit Aug Alb Rom (G.637 *pco'* for St Marcellus)

secr' Hostias tibi domine pro commemoratione beati appolinaris: D
Whit Aug Y Rob (G.636 for St Felix)

July 25 *Christofori & Cucufatis*

secr' Suscipe [accipe: S Alb] domine munera dignanter oblata et
beatorum martyrum: D Aug Alb S Cout (L.396 for St Laurence)

July 28 *S. Pantaleonis*

pco' Sumpta refeccio quam per beati martyris tui: D Sherb H Vit
Cout

Aug 14 *Vig. Assumptionis beate marie*

com Alma dei genitrix: D Whit Sherb Alb S

Aug 27 *S. Rufi mr.*

pco' Celestibus repleti sacramentis et gaudiis: D Aug Alb Abin Cout
(all others (ex. W S Cist: not this collect) have this collect with
"refecti" for "repleti".)

Sept 1 *S. Egidii abb'*

secr' Muneribus nostris quesumus domine: D (f.493: added) Alb W S
11414 (over erasure)

Sept 8 *In nativitate b.v.m.*

off Felix namque: D Whit Alb Cist Dom

Sept 14 *Exaltacio s. crucis*

pco' Iesu christi domini nostri: "eius mysterium" omitted in: D Whit
Alb Abin CCCO

17 Sept *S. Lamberti ep. & mr.*

secr' Intercessio quesumus domine beati lamberti: D Whit Alb W H

pco' Sumpta domine sacramenta sempiterna dulcedine: D Whit Alb W H

Oct 1 *SS. episcoporum Germani Remigii & Vedasti*

coll' Sanctorum confessorum tuorum domine: D Whit Aug Alb W

Oct 2 *S. Leodegarii ep. & mr.*

coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus sancto leodegario: D Whit Aug Alb
W

Oct 6 *S. Fidis v. & mr.*

coll' Deus qui presentem diem; D Aug Y W S

secr' Suscipe domine preces et hostias: D Aug Y W S

Oct 21 *SS. xi millium virginum*

coll' Deus qui sanctam nobis huius diei: D Aug Y H S

APPENDIX II

SELECTIVE COMPARISON OF THE RUBRICS OF THE DURHAM MISSAL WITH THE MONASTIC CONSTITUTIONS OF LANFRANC

The purpose of the following comparison is to show the similarities between the rubrics of the Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289) and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, of which the earliest surviving copy (Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24) was sent to Durham by Lanfranc in the late eleventh century. This seems to demonstrate that many of Lanfranc's detailed liturgical directions were incorporated into the Durham Missal (although it is possible that they both derive from a common exemplar).

In the following extracts, lower case indicates text unique to the Durham Missal (Harley 5289); upper case indicates text common to both the Durham Missal and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc; upper case in square brackets indicates text unique to the Monastic Constitutions. Rubrics are indicated by italics, liturgical texts by normal characters.

DOMINICA IN ramis palmarum [PALMIS] fiat MISSA MATUTINALIS de ipsa dominica CUM UNA COLLECTA; et sine passione sed cum ewangelio quem legitur ad matutinas ad privatas missas similiter dicatur una collecta; passionem vero nullus legatur nisi frater qui infirmis cantat; expleta missa matutinalis. fiat benedictio salis et aque [POST MATUTINALEM MISAM BENEDICATUR AQUA] et aspersa aqua dictaque oratione Exaudi nos ut solet incipiat sacerdos horam. Quam percantata; accedat subdiaconus manipulam in brachio suo et sine tunica et legat ante gradus pavimenti sine titulo l'c. Venerunt filii israel in helym. quere leccionem hunc et cetera q' pertinent ad benedictionem palmarum in fine libri. hiis ita peractis; distribuuntur rami palmarum et frondes aliarum arborum. Interim incipiat cantor [CANTORE INCIPIENTE CANATUR] A' PUERI HEBREORUM. Postea exeant ad processionem sicut plenius notatur in ordinale. facta autem stacione et finitis hiis q' cani debent ad nutum cantoris accedat diaconus dalmatica indutus et petita benedictione ab episcopo si presens fuerit; analogum incenset et legat ewangelium sequens scilicet. Turba multa. ad quod ewangelium preferantur textus ewangeliorum et luminaria et incensum. Deinde fiat sicut continentur in ordinali. ewangelium secundum johannem. Turba multa. Ad missam chorus regatur in albis [CANTOR EBDOMADARIUS CHORUM TENEAT IN CAPPIS]. officium Domine ne longe... R Tenuisti manum... Tr Deus deus meus... Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum mattheum. Non dicatur Gloria tibi domine. In illo tempore dixit christus discipulis suis. † scitis quod post biduum pascha... lapidem cum custodibus.

feria iv ...(f.155v) Iste tractus sequens cantari debet loco responsorii et sicut responsorium simul a toto conventus. Tractus verso Domine non secundum non cantetur. Tractus Domine exaudi orationem meam. Passio secundum lucam.

Die cene facta reconciliacione penitencium prout continetur in processionario et absolucionem peracta. induantur omnes qui ad missam sunt ministraturi. diaconus dalmatica. subdiaconus tunica. ebdomadus cantor chorus regat et cum ei <...> fuerit incipiat introitum misse et pulsantur omnia signa sicut in festis diebus. deinde non pulsantur donec incipiatur Gloria in excelsis in vigilia pasche. feria quinta: officium. Nos autem ps. Deus misereatur et dicatur Gloria patri. Si

episcopus celebrat aliter non dictoque festive. Kyrieleyson. Si episcopus celebratur dicat Gloria in excelsis. Si vero alius celebrat preter mittatur sequitur oratio cum Dominus vobiscum. Oratio [...] Si episcopus celebrat dicat Credo. Si vero alius sacerdos non dicatur. sed dicta. Dominus vobiscum. dicat oremus et offertorium Dextera domini. Post evvangelium TOT HOSTIE PONANTUR AD conSECRANDUM QUOT POSSUNT fratribus SUFFICERE IPSO DIE ET IN CRASTINO AD COMMUNICANDUM. Secreta. Ipse tibi quesumus domine. Sciendum quod prefacio non dicitur hac die nisi episcopus celebraverit; sed sive episcopus celebrat sive alius sacerdos semper debet dici infra actionem. Communicantes. Hanc igitur. Qui pridie. et cetera ut infra scribuntur.

Secundum consuetudinem quorundam scelarium ponantur a subdiacono tres hostie ad sacrandum quarum due reserventur in crastinum: una ad percipiendum a sacerdote reliqua ut reponatur cum cruce in sepulcro. Completo autem canone usque. per eundem dominum nostrum. Si pontifex presens fuerit et celebraverit: tunc benedicat et exorcizet oleum infirmorum et energuminum ut in libro pontificali plenius continetur. Pontifex post hec dicat per quem hec omnia etc. per omnia secula seculorum. Oremus. Preceptis salutaribus etc. Pater noster. & libera nos quesumus usque per omnia secula seculorum et tunc antequam dicat per omnia secula. fiat consecratio crismatis. ut ibidem plenius continetur. Consecrato crismate et lotis manibus veniens ad altare dicat. per omnia secula seculorum Amen. Diaconus: humilitate vos ad benedictionem. Responsoque conventu Deo gracias. Presul faciat benedictionem ad populum. ut in pontificali libro continetur et postea reversus ad altare dicat. Et pax eius etc. Alius autem sacerdos completis promissis dicat. Pax domini etcetera. Conventus. Et cum spiritu tuo. Agnus dei non dicitur neque pax deturque enim preditoris signum fuit pacis osculum. Ideo hiis tribus diebus ab osculo pacis abstinendum est. Sed statim dicatur Hec sacrosancta commixtio. Domine sancte pater. Domine ihesu christe. Concede quesumus omnipotens et misericors etc. sicut ad alias missas per annum. Post quam autem communicaverit episcopus. Communicent et alii qui communicandi sunt. Et sciendum quod istis tribus diebus omnes fratres communicandi sunt: nisi causa subsit rationabilis. [QUATUOR HIS DIEBUS NULLUS A COMMUNIONE SE SUBTRAHAT, NISI

SUBTRAHENDI RATIONABILIS CAUSA EXISTAT. (...)] De hinc episcopus sive sacerdos precedentibus candelabris et thuribulo cum quibus ad altare venit: [INTEREA SACERDOS PRAECEDENTE PROCESSIONE CUM QUA AD ALTARE VENIT.] VADAT AD LOCUM CONSTITUTUM DECENTISSIME PREPARATUM IBIQUE REPONAT CORPUS DOMINI INCENSATO IPSO LOCO [ET] ANTE REPOSICIONEM ET POST [REPOSITIONEM]. ANTE QUEM LOCUM LUMEN CONTINUE ARDEAT. Episcopo vero vel sacerdote ad altare redeunte. et postcommunio percantata. videlicet Dominus ihesus postquam cenavit cum discipulis...PULSETUR TABULA AD VESPERAS et relatis formis in choro: [REPORTENTUR IN CHORUM FORMAE.] incipiat cantor antiphonam. Calicem. [STATIM PUER INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM CALICEM SALUTARIS;] AD CUIUS INCHOACIONEM petatur [PETITUR] VENIA AB OMNIBUS super [SUPRA] FORMAS et cantetur vespere simul ab omnibus festive sine gloria patri.

a' Calicem salutaris accipiam

ps Credidi

a' Cum hus qui ode

ps Ad dominum cum tribu

a' Ab hominibus iniquis libera me domine

ps Eripe

a' Custode me a laqueo

ps Domine clamavi

a' Considerabam ad dexteram

ps Voce mea

V Christus factus est

a' Cenantibus autem accepit

ps Magnificat

DICTOque PSALMO MAGNIFICAT ET percantata [REPETITA] suscripta ANTIPHONA Cenantibus SINE FINIS MELODIA CURVATI super [SUPRA] FORMAS DICANT IN SILENCIO bini vel trini. et episcopus vel sacerdos similiter cum ministris suis stando ad australem cornu altaris. KYRIELEISON. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. PATER NOSTER. PRECES. EGO DIXI [DOMINE]. PS MISERERE [MEI DEUS]. quibus finitis; vertat se episcopus vel sacerdos ad populum et dicat. Dominus vobiscum. oremus. Refecti vitalibus alimentis...[COLLECTA RESPICE QUAESUMUS

DOMINE] *et diaconus si episcopus celebraverit in fine. Ite missa est.*
vel si alius sacerdos. Benedicamus domino. et sic officium misse et
vespere simul terminentur.

Feria sexta nona cantata erant fratres in dormitorium ibique se discalcient omnes preter illum qui officium celebraturus est. et levitam qui passionem lecturus est. Pulsatis tabulis ad officium conveniunt omnes in chorum. orationem brevem facientes. Post hec omnes qui ad missam sunt servituri se induant duo ad duas lecciones. quatuor ad duos tractus. ALTARE SIT [DESUPER] COOPERTUM UNO TANTUM LINTHEAMINE. PROCEDANT AD ALTARE SACERDOS ET LEVITA SOLI. SACERDOS IN vestibus sacerdotalibus et CASULA. DIACONUS IN alba cum STOLA et manipula. NULLAQUE supplicatione premissa; [PREMISSA SUPPLICATIONE] DICAT SACERDOS. OREMUS. ET DIACONUS. FLECTAMUS GENUA. Levate. oracio. Deus a quo et iudas reatus sui penam... Lectio sine titulo. In tribulacione. TR Domine audiui auditum tuum. Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate. oracio. lectio. TR Eripe me domine. Iste tractus sicut precedens a duobus in albis canatur. [SINGULOS TRACTUS DUO IN ALBIS CANANT]. Scilicet tres vel quatuor versus ut prius dictum est. Quo finito; Sequatur PASSIO et legatur ABSQUE DOMINUS VOBISCUM [LEGATUR]. AD QUAM NEC CANDELABRA[UM] NEC THURIBULUM teneatur. ET CUM PERVENTUM FUERIT AD LOCUM illum [UBI DICITUR]. PARTITI SUNT VESTIMENTA MEA [SIBI]. Duo induti albis nutu cantoris [SINT DUO DE INDUTIS] IUXTA ALTARE HINC [ET] INDE TRAHANT[HENTES] AD SE DUO lintheamina [PANNOS] que propter hic plicata super altare utrique posita dependebant [QUI ANTE OFFICIUM SUPER ALTARE MISSI FUERANT, LINTEO TAMEN REMANENTE SUBTUS MISSALE.] passio dum hic inchoetur. Passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum iohannem. In illo tempore: egressus est ihesus...LECTA PASSIONE; statim DICANTUR ORATIONES [SOLENNES] que hic secuntur [SICUT IN MISSALE CONTINENTUR]. PRO CUNCTIS ORDINIBUS FLECTANTUR GENUA; NISI PRO IUDEIS. Dum hec aguntur; extendantur tapercia in choroubi crux debet adorari. Oracio. oremus dilectissimi nobis pro ecclesiam sanctam... oremus. flectamus genua. levate. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui gloriam tuam... oratio. Oremus et pro beatissimo pape nostro...

Hiis [HIS] EXPLETIS terminatis videlicet omnibus oracionibus sacerdos et levita ad revestiarium redeant et DEPOSITA CASULA ET STOLIS atque manipulis in albis nudis pedibus REVERTANTUR [SACERDOS ET LEVITA] IN CHORUM [IN ALBIS]. Qui celebrat sit ex una parte;

diaconus ex altera. episcopus vero vel prior semper in dextera. Tunc cantor cum alio fratrem vel duo quibus iusserit [TUNC DUO SACERDOTES QUIBUS CANTOR IUSSERIT] INDUTI ALBIS ACCEDANT AD CRUCEM QUAE DEBET ESSE [PRAEPARATA ET] COOPERTA iuxta feretrum [AD ALTARE MATUTINALE] QUAM ACCIPIENTES et [FERANT EAM] PAULATIM PROGREDIENTES. super genua sua canant. a' [ET CANTANTES VERSUS] POPULE MEUS. DUO alii [LEVITAE] IN ALBIS contra eos STANTES [AD GRADUS ANTE ALTARE MAIUS] RESPONDEANT AGY[I]OS O THEOS. ter genua flectendo et CHORUS similiter ter genua flectendo [AUTEM] DICAT. SANCTUS DEUS sanctus fortis sanctus immortalis. SACERDOTES sive cantores versus QUIA EDUXI VOS... Alii duo [LEVITAE]. AGYOS. CHORUS. SANCTUS. more quo supra. Item cantores [SACERDOTES] versus. Quid ultra. alii [LEVITAE] AGYOS. CHORUS SANCTUS. TUNC [SACERDOTES] CRUCEM tenentes [FERENTES] ad gradus venientes crucem discooperiendo. [VENIANT ANTE ALTARE ET CUM FINIERINT SANCTUS STATIM DISCOOPERIENTES EAM] INCIPIANT [AMBO] ANTIPHONAM. ECCE LIGNUM... Ad cuius incepcionem [ET TUNC DEMUM] OMNES FLECTe[A]NT GENUA ad terram. similiter quociuscunque repetitur Adoremus. REPETATUR ANTIPHONA CUM [VERSIBUS] PSALMo[I] BEATI IMMACULATI in via. QUANTUM CANTORI VISUM FUERIT. Dum hec cantatur adoretur crux a conventu priore incipiente et ceteris sequentibus [SUPER QUAE PROSTERNANTUR PRIMUM DOMNUM ABBAS ET INDUTI. INTERIM IN LOCUM EORUM QUI TENENT CRUCEM. SUCCENDENTIBUS ALIIS DEINDE CAETERI] SICUT EST ORDO EORUM. et tunc [ET NON PROLIXE ADORANTES IACEANT. SED] BREVITER ET PURE [ORANTES] debent adorare de hinc antiphona. Crucem tuam adoramus domine... cum psalmo Deus misereatur preter hac antiphona Dum fabricator mundi mortis... antiphona O admirabile precium... deinde antiphona Crux fidelis... Crux... Pange lingua... Crux... [POSTEA UNUSQUISQUE OSCULETUR PEDES CRUCIFIXI ET POST REVERTATUR IN CHORUM.] Hic exeant ceroferarii et thuribulum et alia necessaria sunt. Cruce a conventu adorata; portetur ad ostium retro chori ut ibi a secularibus adoretur. [QUOD SI CONVENERINT ALIQUI VEL CLERICI VEL LAICI VOLENTES ADORARE CRUCEM. PORTETUR EIS CRUX IN ALIUM LOCUM UBI APTIUS ADORENT EAM.] ADORATA AB OMNIBUS CRUCE. PORTITORES EIUS eam ELEVANTES [EAM] INCIPIANT ANTIPHONAM. SUPER OMNES LIGNA

CEDRORUM... ET SIC [VADANT] redeuntes per medium chori eant AD LOCUM UBI EAM COLLOCARE DEBENT. [TUNC OMNES PETANT VENIAM FLEXIS AD TERRAM GENIBUS.] Et sciendum quod dum crux portatur et reportatur per medium chori. adorare debet ab omnibus flexis genibus. [QUAE SI PER CHORUM TRANSIERIT. FLEXIS AD TERRAM GENIBUS ADORETUR A FRATRIBUS. NON SIMUL OMNIBUS SED SICUT PORTABITUR CORAM EIS.] Cum vero pervenerint ad gradus pavimenti; procedant duo fratres cum candelabris et tercius cum thuribulo precedentes crucis portitores. Et episcopum vel priorem qui cum portitoribus crucis crucem in sepulcro collocaturus est. finita antiphona. Super omnia. incipiat cantor responsorium. Tenebre. quo decantato collocetur crux in sepulcro incensato loco ante posicionem et post. Dum hec aguntur; incipiat cantor has antiphonas.

Proprio filio suo non pepercit deus...

a' Caro mea requiescet in spe...

a' Dominus tamquam ovis ad victimam...

a' Oblatus est que ipse voluit...

a' In pacis in idipsum dormiam...

deinde dum vertentes vultum ad conventum canant hanc a'. Joseph ab arimathia peciit corpus...

eaque percantata descendat in revestiarium qui officium celebrat ibique omnibus ex more preparatis eat [VADANT] AD LOCUM UBI [QUINTA FERIA] CORPUS DOMINI feria quinta [FUIT RE]POSITUM est. PRECEDENTE[IBUS] eum levita cum ceroferariis et thurifer. [CONVERSI CUM CANDELABRIS ET THURIBULO ET POSITO INCENSO IN THURIBULO INCENSET ILLUD. ET SIC TRADAT DIACONO AD REPORTANDUM.] Ipse qui officium celebrat vel levita corpus domini elevet portando ad altare incensato loco ante elevacionem. Quando vero corpus elevat; canatur a conventu postcommunio (sic). Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur... Ipso incipiente qui celebrat COLLOCATO SUPER ALTARE corpus CHRISTI [CORPORE] FACTAque IN CALICE VINI ET AQVE [COM]MIXTIONE facta eciam suppliciter oracione scilicet. Domine ihesu christe propicius esto. DICTAque [A SACERDOTE] CUM DIACONO CONFESSIONE; INCENSETur

[SACERDOS] CORPUS CHRISTI ET CALIX[CEM] DEINDE DICATUR
MEDIOCRIS VOCE.
OREMUS. PRECEPTIS SALUTARIBUS... PATER NOSTER... ET NE NOS
INDUCAS IN TEMPTACIONEM. ET CHORUS [RESPONDEAT]
SET[D] LIBERA NOS A MALO. Amen. DEHINC SACERDOS IN SILENCIO.
LIBERA NOS QUESUMUS DOMINE... IN UNITATE SPIRITUS SANCTI DEUS
ET POST MODERATA VOCE. PER OMNIA SEcula SECULORUM ET choro
RESPONDENTE [CHORO] AMEN. NICHIL AMPLIUS DICATUR. *hac enim
feria sexta. non dicitur Pax domini neque Agnus dei. Deinde sacerdos
MISSA[QUE] IN CALICEM [SICUT SOLET] PARTICULA DOMINICI
CORPORIS dicendo. Commixtio corporis etc' cum aliis oracionibus
sequentibus. COMMUNICET SE sacerdos ET FRATRES OMNES SINE
OSCULO PACIS. COMMUNICATIS OMNIBUS. [...] DICANT VESPERAS IN
SILENCIO bini vel trini cum antiphonis et psalmis quinta ferie [EISDEM
SICUT IN QUINTA FERIA PSALMIS ANTIPHONIS PRECIBUS COLLECTIS]
NISI QUOD PRO PSALMO. VOCE MEA. QUI DICTUS EST QUINTA FERIA
HAC DIE DICITUR PSALMUS. BENEDICTUS [DOMINUS DEUS MEUS] cum
antiphona De manu filiorum alienorum libera me domine. ps.
Benedictus. Super magnificat antiphona Cena facta dixit ihesus
discipulis suis amen dico vobis... ps. Magnificat. preces. Ego dixi. ut
supra. oracio. Respice quesumus domine... Benedicamus domino.
Hiis ita peractis; exeat sacerdos cum diacono cerofariis et thuribulo.
eos precedentibus.*

In sancto sabato pasche dicta nona; revertantur fratres in dormitorium a quo descendentes pergant ad lavatorium. Deinde pulsatis tabulis ad missam in chorum conveniant facientes breve oracionem et post induant se omnes albis paratis; et [INDUTI] IN CHORUM REDEANT. Hiis gestis eant ad locum ubi ignis sacrari debet. [DEHINC PROCEDANT AD SACRANDUM IGNE. CANENTES PSALMUM QUINQUAGESIMUM.] cantore incipiente. psalmus Miserere cum gloria patri. Kyrieleison. Pater noster. precedentibus portitoribus crucis et aque benedictae et lanterne quam ferret magister puerorum qui ebdomadarius est et haste et thuribuli vacui. eosque sequatur. [PRIMUS OMNIUM SECRETARIUS QUI HASTAM PORTAT IN QUA SACRATUM IGNEM REPORTET] Prior cum stola et capa vel sacerdos qui celebraturus est sine capa set cum stola et manipula. Deinde sequatur conventus precedentibus senioribus. SACRATO IGNE aspergatur aqua benedicta. [PROICIAT SACERDOS AQUAM BENEDICTAM SUPER EUM] ET de [POSTEA EX] CARBONIBUS illius [IPSIUS] IGNIS IMPLEATUR THURIBULUM et thure iniecto [QUO IMPLETO IMPONAT SACERDOS THUS ET] INCENSET IGNE. Deinde [TUNC] ACCENDANTUR candelae in hasta et aliae in lanterna et cerei [CEREUS QUEM PORTARE IN HASTA DEBET SECRETARIUS]. AD HANC enim PROCESSIONEM [CANDELABRA NON PORTANTUR.] portantur candelabra cum cereis non illuminatis usque scilicet ad locum ubi benedicatur ignis ubi illuminantur omnes candelae. Hiis ita gestis precedentibus iunioribus revertantur sicut solent ferialibus diebus quam processio agitur precedentibus conventum duobus fratribus cantando ympnum Inventor rutili [IN SEDE EPISCOPALI CANATUR A DUOBUS PUERIS YMNUS INVENTOR RUTILI] conventu repetente primum versum. Cum conventus in chorum venerit ipsi qui ympnum cantant ad gradus eant ibique unum versum vel quantum cantori visum fuerit canant. finito cantu si episcopus presens fuerit sedem suam intret cum capa et mitra. exspectans donec veniat ante eum benedictionem petens qui cereum consecrare debet. Si vero absens fuerit episcopus. prior vel is qui missam celebrat statim cum processio intrat ecclesiam ad revestiarium eat cum eo qui cereum benedicturus est. ibique sollempniter vestiti [SACERDOS INDUTUS CASULA] PROCEDANT AD ALTARE. ibique DIACONUS [VENIAT ANTE ABBATEM ET] PETAT [AB EO] BENEDICTIONEM ab eo qui celebrat [DEHINC VADAT AD CEREUM] ET BENEDICAT [EUM] cereum. CUM

TEMPUS FUERIT; [ACCIPIAT DIACONUS AB EO THURIBULUM] deferetur ei thuribulum. silicet cum dixerit. Suscipe sancte ET INCENSET CEREUM. sed prius celebraturus incensum ponat ET CUM DICTUM FUERIT RUTILANS IGNIS [ACCENDIT. STATIM] ACCENDATUR [CEREUM]. BENEDICCIÓN PERACTA. DIACONUS DEPOSITA ibi DALMATICA [ET STOLA AD SUUM LOCUM IN CHORUM REVERTATUR] ad altare redeat. CEREUS VERO NON EXTINGUATUR USQUE IN CRASTINUM POST VESPERAS. Benedicção itaque peracta exeat episcopus si celebrare noluerit cum eo qui cereum consecravit et priore et archidiacono. et ceteris clericis episcopi ad preparandum se. et statim inchoetur. lectio prima. [LECTIONES STATIM INCHOENTUR.] lecciones legantur sine titulo in capis. Episcopus vero sollempniter vestitus. diaconus sine dalmatica. prior et archidiaconus in capis. et ceteri vestiti procedant ad altare.

lectio prima. In principio creavit deus celum et terram... oremus. Deus qui mirabiliter...

lectio secunda. Factum est in vigilia...

Tractus. Cantemus domino gloriose...

Iste tractus cantetur a duobus in albis. similiter tres sequentes.

oratio. Deus cuius antiqua miracula...

lectio tertia. Apprehendent septem mulieres...

Tractus. Vineam factus est...

oratio. Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale...

lectio quarta. Hec est hereditas servorum...

Tractus. Attende celum...

oratio. Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper...

lectio quinta. Audi israel mandata vite...

Tractus. Sicut cervus desiderat...

oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice...

Finis ULTIMA ORACIONE [DICTA] exeat episcopus sicut intravit. CANTOR vero vocatis ad se tribus vel quatuor fratribus [ET ALTER FRATER QUEM VOLUERIT INDUTI CAPPIS] INCIPIA[N]T [IN CHORO] LETANIAM in capis. Trinos [TERNOS] SANCTOS DE quolibet [UNOQUOQUE] ORDINE sumentes [DICANT]. Si autem episcopus absens fuerit; cum incipitur letania is qui celebrat [SACERDOS] cum diacono in vestiarius descendat [REVERTATUR IN SECRETARIUM] ET DEPOSITA

CASULA ET STOLA intret [REDEAT] IN CHORUM sed prior non. INCEPTA LETANIA; FRATRES ACCEDANT AD FORMAS SICUT IN DUODECIM LECCIONIBUS. AD SINGULA SANCTORUM NOMINA [UTERQUE] CHORUS INCLINET. CANTORES AD NULLUM. CUM DIXERINT [CANTORES] OMNES SANCTI [ORATE PRO NOBIS] EXEANT omnes qui ad missam sunt servituri [DE CHORO SACERDOS LEVITA ET SUBDIACONUS]. Cum dixerint Accendite accendantur luminaria. Accendite [PRONUNCIENT CANTORES] TRIBUS VICIBUS ALTE VOCE pronunciata [ACCENDITE ET TUNC PRIMUM ACCENDANTUR CANDELABRA ET CAETERA LUMINARIA] intret episcopus cum ministris suis sollempniter indutis et clericis suis in capis vel eo absente sacerdos cum ministris suis. ET incipiat CANTOR[ES INCIPIANT] FESTIVE KYRIELEISON. Post Kyrieleison incipiatur Gloria in excelsis deo. Incensetur altare et pulsantur omnia signa ad Kyrieleison et Gloria in excelsis et Alleluia [ET SIGNA TUNC PULSARI INCIPIANT NEC DESINANT USQUE AD FINEM KYRIELEISON]. Stet totus conventus. Oratio Deus qui hanc sanctissimam noctem... Ad colocenses Si consurrexistis... Alleluia. a cantoribus canatur versus confitemini domino... tractus Laudate dominum omnes gentes. versus Quoniam confirmata est... Iste tractus cantabitur in capis. Statim sequatur ewangelium. [QUANDO LEGETUR EWANGELIUM] ad quod NON TENEANTUR CANDELABRA SET[D SOLUM] THURIBULUM tantum. Secundum mattheum. Vespere autem sabati... Post ewangelium dicat sacerdos dominus vobiscum chorus et cum spiritu tuo sacerdos oremus. Non cantetur offerenda. hac enim die OFFERENDA [ET] AGNUS DEI ET post(sic)COMMUNIO [AD HANC MISSAM] NON DICUNTUR. LICET sanctus et CETERA FESTIVE canantur [DICANTUR]. secreta. suscipe quesumus domine... prefacio. Et te omni quidem tempore sed in hac potis nocte. hec prefacio dicatur per totam ebdomadam pasche et omnibus dominicis usque ad ascensionem quam de dominica sive de pascha dicatur missa. Communicantes et noctem sanctissimam et hanc igitur oblacionem per ebdomadam tantum dicantur. Pax domini sit semper vobiscum a sacerdote alte pronuncietur. et respondeatur choro. et cum spiritu tuo sed non dicatur Agnus dei nec pax detur sed statim dicatur. Hec sacrosancta commixtio... Domine sancte pater... Domine ihesu christe... Concede quesumus omnipotens et cetera. sicut ad alias missas per annum dicitur. Communicatis fratribus incipiantur vespere festive super psalmos antiphona. Alleluia vi. percantetur

antiphona et sequantur psalmus laudate dominum omnes gentes. facta gloria patri repetatur antiphona alleluia. qua bis percantata ante psalmum et post. incipiat cantor antiphonam Vespere autem sabati et percantetur psalmus Magnificat. finita antiphona post Magnificat et Gloria patri dicat sacerdos Dominus vobiscum. postcommunio spiritum nobis domine... sacerdos dominus vobiscum et diaconus ite missa est et sic missa et vespere simul finiantur.

Per totam ebdomadam paschalem erit minor missa. Resurrexi et cetera ut in die nisi supervenerit festum duodecim leccionibus. et licet festum annunciationis beate marie si in die pasche evenerit utreque tunc misse erunt de resurreccione et festum differtur usque in quintam feriam. Gloria in excelsis ad utramque missam per ebdomadam dicitur. Credo in unum prima die dicitur ad maiorem missam tantum.

APPENDIX III

THE RHYMED OFFICES OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL PRIORY

1. OFFICE OF ST CUTHBERT

For an edition of the text, with full critical apparatus, see Christopher Hohler, "The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert" in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford 1956).

The music of this Office has not previously been transcribed, but is available in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Volume 12 (Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F 160), The Worcester Antiphoner. That version does not, however, include the additional monastic items composed at Durham. The following diplomatic transcription is taken from the earliest surviving Durham source containing the full monastic office, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.55, ff.50-53v. This *libellus* dates from 1153, and contains Lives of Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan; a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham, from Aidan to Hugh de Puiset; a relic list from Durham Cathedral Priory; the Mass and Rhymed Office of St Cuthbert, the music written in square notation on three lines; and the Mass and Rhymed Office of St Oswald, also fully notated. The decision to use modern staff notation for the transcription was taken in order to make the melodic features, which comprise the chief interest of this music, immediately apparent. The use of only three lines in the original notation necessitates frequent changes of clef (D, A, C, e and b clefs are all employed), which tends to obscure the melodic line to a modern eye.

The lines have been set out so as to emphasise the rhyme scheme of the text, with the end of each musical line coinciding with the verbal rhyme or assonance. This also highlights the way in which the melody complements the text, by placing internal "cadences" to coincide with the rhymes. The abbreviations used are as follows:

C=Office of St Cuthbert

O=Office of St Oswald

M=Matins

V=Vespers

A=Antiphon

R=Responsory

I=Invitatory

E=Antiphon at Magnificat or Benedictus

MC=Antiphon for canticle in 3rd nocturn of Matins

Tr.=Feast of Translation

(v)=verse of responsory.

C-VA1

(Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.3.55, f. 50^v)

A-ve pre-sul glo-ri- -o-se

a-ve si-dus iam ce- -les- -te

de-co-rans cutheber-te ce-lum

nos gu-ber-na vi-sens hu-mum

quo le- -te- -mur tri-um-phan-tes

te pa- -tro-num ve-ne - ran-tes

e u o u a e

San-cte cuth-ber-te
in-ter-ce-de pro no-bis
ut con-sor-tes glo-ri-e san-cto-rum
tecum effi-ci me-re-a-mur.
e u o u a e

C-VA3

(f. 50^v)

Pre-sul do-mi-ni

san-cte cuth-ber-te

in-ter-ce-de pro no-bis

ad do-mi-num de-um nos-trum

eu o u a e

C-VA4

(f.50^v)

Al-mi cuth-ber-te pre-su-lis

mu-ni-tos nos suf-fra-gi-lis

ce-lo-rum rex per-pe-tu-a

chris-tus du-cat ad gau-di-a

eu o u a e

O-ri-ens sol ius-ti-ci-e

dig-na-tus est il-lus-tra-re

per mi-ni-stros lu-cis su-e

cunctos fi-nes or-bis ter-re

ip-si laus qui de-dit ang-lis

lu-er-nam su-e sa-lu-tis

cuth-ber-tum bo-num doc-to-rem

ac pro hiis in-ter-ces-so-rem

e u o u a e

C-MI

(f. 51)

Handwritten musical score for three staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C'. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each note. The lyrics are: Do — mi — no san-cto — rum pre-su-lum re-gi
iu-bi-le — mus in hac sa-cra sol-len-ni — ta — te
pon-ti — fi — cis nos-tri cuth-ber-te
Ve-ni-te

C-MA1

(f. 51^v)

Au-ctor do-no-num spi-ri-tus
in-spi-rans ve-ra va-ti-bus
per tri-mum fa-tur in-fan-tem
cuth ber-tum fo-re pre-su-lem
e u o u a e

C-MA2

(f. 51^v)

Qui ra-pha-e-lem ar-chan-ge-lum
to-bi-e de-dit me-di-cum
cuth-ber-ti ge-nu lan-gui-dum
su-um sa-nat per an-ge-lum
e u o u a e

C-MA3

(f. 51^v)

Dum iac-tan-tur pup-pes sa-lo

san-ctus o-rans he-ret so-lo

mox venturum vis mu-ta-ta

na-ves ver-tit ad li-to-ra

e u o u a e

C-MA4

(f. 51^v)

E-do-mans corpus iu-ve-nis

in un-dis per noc-tat ma-ris

i-bi de-o vo-ta lau-dis

ex af-fectu red-dit cor-dis

e u o u a e

C-MA5

(f. 51^v)

Mi-rum dictu hinc e-gres-so
et o-ranti ge-nu-fle-xo
membra refo-vent ri-gi-da
e-quo-ris a-ni-ma-li-a

e u o u a e

C-MAG

(f. 51^v)

A-dest fra-ter cu-ri-o-sus
ex-plo-rans quid a-gat ius-tus
quem lan-guo-re et pavo-re
mox cor-rep-tum sa-nat pre-ce

e u o u a e

C-MA7

(f. 52)

Quan—dam ve—xa—tam de—mo—ne
 per—git san—ctus in—vi—se—re
 sed mox di—rus fu—git hos—tis
 fit mu—li—er in—co—lu—mis

e u o u a e

C-MA8

(f. 52)

Mul—tos hic sa—na—vit e—gros
 lan—guo—res de—pel—lens se—vos
 mul—tas ef—fu—ga—vit lar—vas
 vir—tu—te cru—cis ter—ri—tas

e u o u a e

San-ctus an-tis-tes cuth-ber-tus

vir perfectus in om-ni-bus

in tur-bis e-rat mo-na-chus

di-gne cun-ctis re-ve-ren-dus

e u o u a e

A-ves san-cto o-bau-di-unt

cor-vi cor-rec-ti re-de-unt

li-num-que cel-le fab-ri-ce

neg-lec-tum nau-tis fert ma-re

eu o u a e

Patris be-nig-nam graci-am

lin-quen-tes per sep-ti-ma-nam

ma-ris li-gat un-do-si-tas

dum pa-rent fit tran-qui-li-tas

eu o u a e

Ut he-li-se-us mor-tu-us
 re-sus-ci-ta-vit mor-tu-um
 i-ta cuth-bertus e-go-tus
 sa-nat di-sen-te-ri-a-cum
 e u o u a e

Hu-ius vi-ta-li fu-ne-re
 de-mo-ni-a-cus e-ger-que
 pa-ra-li-ti-cus tu-mens-que
 de-formis vul-tu vi-su-que
 di-ver-se-que mi-se-ri-e
 sa-nan-tur mem-bris men-te-que
 e u o u a e

C-LA1

(f. 53^v)

Chris-ti for-tis hec ath-le-ta

ac verus a-na-cho-ri-ta

mun-di temp-sit hec in-fi-ma

quo ce-li ca-pe-ret summa

e u o u a e

C-LA2

(f. 53^v)

Qui de ru-pe promp-sit aquam

post in vi-num ver-tens e-am

hoc utrum-que do-num su-o

ca-ro contu-lit cuth-ber-to

e u o u a e

C-LA3

(f. 53^v)

In e-pis-co-pa tu su-o

iam e-xac-to bi-en-ni-o

ut so-li va-ca-ret de-o

di-lec-to se-re-dit-an-tro

e u o u a e

C-LA4

(f. 53^v)

Hinc tan-gun-tur ar-tus sa-cri

cor-po-ris mor-bo le-ta-li

sci-ens ve-ro se re-sol-vi

con-fo-r-tat o-vi-le chris-ti

e u o u a e

Mox pa-ter su-os af-fa-tur
 quisque ves-trum temp-nat mun- -dum
 a- -met chris-tum colat bo-num
 sic su-per-num su-met regnum
 e u o u a e

C-LE

(f. 53^v)

Lan-guor ac-cres — cens in di — es

ar-tus ve-xa-bat fra — — gi — les

ip-se sa-cras fundens pre — ces

ce — li — cas pre — gus — tat lau-des

dom ter — re — nis re — dit di — — es

e-ter — nus cuth — ber — to di — es

sa-lu — ta-res su — mit da — — pes

sic su — per — nas scan — dit se — des

0 mag—ne pre—sul cuth—ber—te
 cu—i chris—tus fu—it vi—ve—re
 cu—i mo—ri lu—crum per—hen—ne
 dum post mor—tem vi—vis ve—re
 sig-nis di—vi—nis in—di—te
 langui—dos sa—nans a la-be
 hoc ro—ga-mus pi—a pre-ce
 tu pro no—bis in—ter—ce—de
 e u o n a e

Al-me con-fes-sor do-mi-ni

pre-sul re-gis e-ter-ni

cuthber-te con-sors san-cto-rum

con-ci-vis ce-les-ti-um

e-xau-di pre-ces tu-o-rum

su-me vo-ta sup-phi-cum

et pro no-bis re-gem re-gum

ip-sum pos-ce do-mi-num

e u o u a e

ath-ber-tus pu-er bo-ne in-do-lis

per vi-gil noctur-nis insis-tens ym-nis

a-i-da-ni e-pis-co-pi a-ni-mam in ce-lum

fer-ri-vi-dit ab an-ge-lis

Cum pasto-ri-bus o-vi-um

po-si-tus pastor a-ni-ma-rum

a de-o pre-e-lec-tus

men-te et vul-tu su-per-nis in-ten-tus A-i-da-ni

In san-ctis cres-cens vir-tu-ti-bus
 al-mus vir cuth-ber-tus
 de-spec-tis hu-ius ca-du-ci
 se-cu-li re-bus
 ve-ne-ra-bi-lis
 æ per cun-cta dig-ne lau-da-bi-lis
 fac-tur est mo-na-chus.
 † Cor-po-re mente ha-bi-tu factis
 que pro-ba-bi-li-bus
 castris do-mi-ni-cis
 as-so-ci-a-tur fac-tur est

Pa-tri-ar-che nostri a-bra-he e-xem-plo
 be-a-tus pa-ter cuth-ber-tus
 hos-pi-ta-li-ta-tis de-di-tus ob-se-qui-um
 su-per-num ci-ven-gau-deat ex-ce-pit hos-pi-ci-um
 cu-i-dum terre-num querit mini-stra-re pa-nem
 re-ci-per-e me-ru-it ce-les-tem
 Di-gre-di-tur namque vir de-i pa-nem
 cu-pi-ens de-fer-re ca-len-tem
 sed re-di-ens ne-qua-quam
 in-ve-nit con-vi-vam cu-i-dum

Vir do-mi-ni cuth-ber- -tus

ma - ris tempes-ta - te cum so-ci-is pre - du - sus

fu-tu-ri di-em se-re - ni cer-tum pre-di - -xit.

cum qui-bus e-ti-am ci - bo

su-a si-bi pre-ce di-vi-ni-tus da-to

as - -ci pro-me - ru-it.

po-si-tis namque ge-ni-bus o-ra-ti-o - nem fu - dit

nau-tas-que in do-mi-no fi - de-re ius - sit. cum quibus

Me-ri-to sancti-ta-tis

et gra-tu digni-ta-tis

accep-to vir de-i sa-cer-do-ci-o

no-men equabat of-fi-ci-o

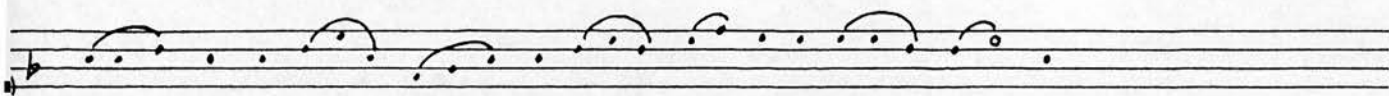
pre-bens cun-ctis

mo-ni-ta sa-lu-tis

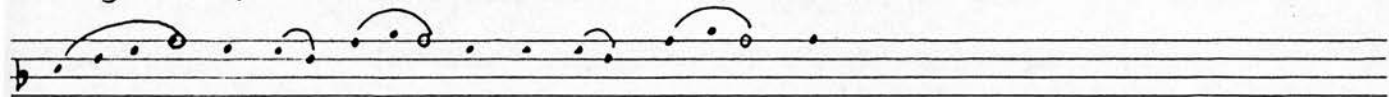
et e-xem-pla bo-ne ac-ti-o-nis.

Quod e-nim ver-bis do-ce-bat

o-pe-ri-bus ad im-ple-bat. Prebens.



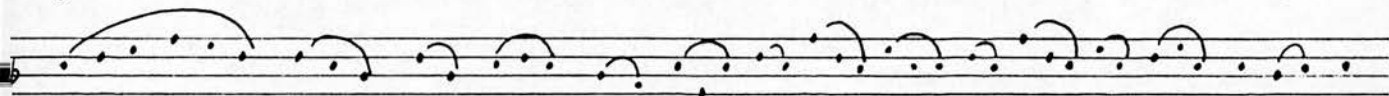
Ig — ne fer — vo — ris di — vi — ni suc — cen — sus



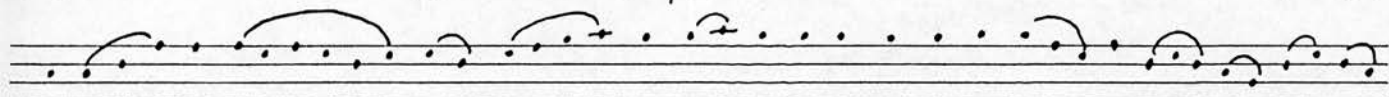
san — ctus sa — cer — dos cuth — ber — tus



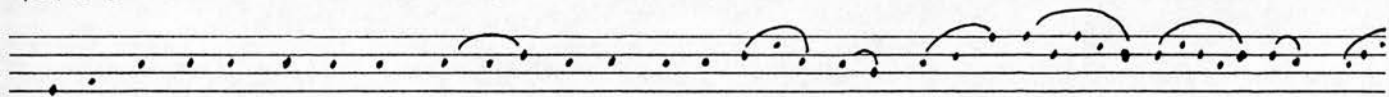
ig — nes no — xi — os se — pe re — pre — sit



su — is sa — cris pre — ci — bus.



Fan — tas — ti — cum qui — dem ig — nem cum aucto — rem su — o ef — fu — ga — vit



ma — te — ri — a — lem ve — ro ab e — di — bus quas vo — ra — bat ex — tin — xit. su —

Ve-ri-lo-cus va-ter cuth ber-tus
 ec-de-si-e ius-sis pre-ci-bus
 la-cri-mis que co-ac-tus
 ut ip-se an-te pre-di-xe-rat
 E-pi-sco-pa-li ca-the-dra sul-li-ma-tur
 po-pu-lis que re-gen-dis pre-fi-ci-tur.
 E se-cre-tis extra-hi-tur la-te-bris
 et per-fu-sur ge-nas la-cri-mis. Episcopi

Ce-les- -ti-um mi-nis- -ter do- -no-rum
 cuth-ber- -tus an-tis-ter u-xa- -rem
 cu-ius-dam co -ta
 a-qua be-ne-dic -ta
 vir-gi-nem cris-ma- -te
 per- -un-ctam
 pa- -trem fa-mi-li-as
 pa-ne a se be-ne-di- -cto
 ri-sti- -ne red-di-dit sa- -ni-ta- -ti.

C-MR8 (v)

(f. 52^v)

V Iu—ve—nem quo—que iam pe—ne

mo—ri—tu—num so—la o—ra—ci—o — ne

pu—e—rumque se—mi—ne—rem oscu—lo

tan—tum da — —to. Pris —

Qui de pe-tra a-quam pro-du-xit
 et a-quam in vi-num mu-ta-vit
 cuth-ber-tum
 u-tra-que e-ti-am gra-ti-a dig-num
 gra-ti-fi-ca-vit.
 a-quam il-li
 de a-ri-da ter-ra ef-fun-dit
 et a-quam bi-ben-ti
 in vi-num con-ver-tit. u-tra-que.

Pre-nun-ci-an-te cuth-ber-to
 tran-si-tum su-um san-ctus
 a-na-cho-ri-ta he-re-ber-tus
 ce-lesti de-si-de-ri-o
 la-chri-mo-sus un-plo-rat e-um
 ut pa-ri-ter se-cum
 mi-gra-ret ad do-mi-num.
 In-cum-bens pre-ci-bus cuth-ber-tus
 mox le-ta-bun-dus
 re-tu-lit pos-cen-ti se exau-di-tum.
 ut pa-ri-ter.

Pu—ra cor—dis
 a—ci—e su—per—nis
 sem—per in—ten—tus
 con—tem—pla—tus
 est in—ter e—pu—las a—ni—mam cu—ius—dam
 ex ar—bo—re lap—si
 ab an—ge—lis con—gra—tu—lan—ti—bus
 in ce—lum de fer—ri
 In ar—gu—men—tum quo—que ve—ri
 pre—di—ce—bat
 quid cras—ti—no si—bi
 nun—ti—ā—re—tur su—per e—o quam vi—de—rat Ab an—ge—lis

Ath-le -ta do-mi-ni cutt-ber -tus

vic-tor in-nu-me-ra-bi-li-um

cer-ta -mi-num

de-mo-ni-a-ci im-pe-tus

de-coe-tus ut au-rum

in-for-na-ce lan-guo -ris

a-dep-tus est co-ro -nam

an-ge-li-ce ci-vi-li-ta-tis

cu-ius vi-tam in-te-me-ra-tam

com-men-dat in-cor-rupti-o cor-po-ris

Post an-nos un-de-cim
i-ta in-ven-tus est ut se-pul-tus fu-e-rat
vestibus ni-ti-dis-si-mis in-te-ger-ri-mo
cor-po-re et fle-xi-bi-li-bus ar-ti-cu-lis ut dormi-ens somp-no pa-cis.
Glo-ri-a pa-tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i san-cto.

2. OFFICE OF ST OSWALD

The text has been transcribed from Lbl MS Harley 4664, "The Coldingham Breviary," ff.248v-250. All abbreviations have been expanded except for those in the rubrics (given here in italics).

The musical transcription which follows the text has been taken from Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.3.55, ff.68v-69v.

*sancti oswaldi regis et martyris. super psalmos.
antiphona.*

Ave martyr

a'

Sancte oswalde

a'

Erat inclitus

a'

Assumpsit sibi pontificem

capitulum

Iustus si morte preoccupatus fecerit in refrigerio erit. senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna neque numero annorum computata.

R[esponsorium]

Rege deo regum

miracula dante per evum

oswaldi regis

domini data dextra triumphis

incorrupta manet

divinaque munera prebet.

v[ersus]

Dextra fovens inopes

cedens summi patris hostes

dextra recisa ducis

pro gente dei morientis. incorrupta.

Ymnus

Regalis ostro

V

Magna est gloria eius

In evvangelio

Sceptrige oswalde
celo terraque sacrate
trans mare germanis
gallis fulgescis ab anglis
et quecumque tuam
gens poscit opem subit amplam
rex bone propicium
nobis regem pete regum

oracio

Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris ut qui ex iniquitate nostram
reos nos esse cognoscimus beati oswaldi regis et martyris tui
intercessione liberemur. per.

[Ad matutinas]

Invitatorium

Martyrum palmam
domino regnique coronam
qua micat oswaldus
regi regum iubilemus.

Ps[almus]

Venite

Ymnus

Regalis ostro

In primo nocturno. super psalmos. a'

Rex quatuor gentium

Ps

Beatus vir

a'

Cumque sederet

a'

In signo dominice

a'

Inter cetera

a'

Erat inclitus

a'

Assumpsit sibi

V

Gloria et honore

lectio i

Successores adwini regis anglorum in apostosiam conventes cum sue gentis et fidei et regno magno extitissent detrimento. et obid iusto dei iudicio regnum pariter et vitam inbrevis amisissent; oswaldus rex christianissimus eorum loco succedens deo annuente et fidei statum propagant et regni impervium ampliavit.

R

Rex sacer oswaldus
senas acies feriturus
spem crucis erexit
et in hoc signo superavit.

v

Ut constantinus
de celo vincere doctus. spem.

lectio ii

Igitur post occisionem fratris andfredi superveniente cum parvo exercitu sed fide christi munito; infandus britonum dux cum in mensis illis copiis quibus nichil resistere iactabat. interemptus est in loco quid lingua anglorum de nisesburna. id est rivus de nisi vocatur.

R

Hec crux oswaldi
fuit una sue regioni
primaque credentes
christo dedit hoc duce gentes.

v

Hec erat exemplum
divina trophea colentum. Primaque.

lectio iii

Ostenditur autem locus ille et in magna veneracione habetur usque hodie ubi venturus ad hanc pugnam oswaldus signum crucis erexit ac flexis genibus deum deprecatus est ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus succurreret auxilio.

R

Per crucis huius opem
populi rapuere salutem
congaudent una
varie clades medicina.

v

Oswaldi regis
meritum tot subvenit egris.

lectio iv

Denique fertur quia sancto citato opere cruce ac fovea preparata in quo statui debeat; ipse fide fervens hanc eripuerit ac fovee in posuerit atque utraque manu tenuerat erectam; donec aggesto a militibus pulvere terre infingeretur. et hoc sancto elata in altum voce cuncto exercitui pro clamaverit. flectamus omnes genua et deum

omnipotentem unum ac verum in commune deprecemur. ut nos ab
hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat.

R

Oswaldus christi
devotus vernula regni
construit ecclesias
dat predia res dat opimas.

V

Nascentemque fidem
dilatat christicolarum. construit.

In secundo nocturno. super psalmos. a'.

Sic beatus oswaldus

a'

Rex principum

a'

Hunc martyrio

a'

In loco regis

a'

Super sancti

a'

De ligno

V

Posuisti domine

lectio v

Fecerunt omnes ut iusserat et sic incipienti diluculo in hostem
progressi iuxta meritum sue fidei victoria potui sunt. In cuius loco
orationis innumere virtutes sanitarum noscuntur esse parate ad
iudicium utique ac memoriam fidei regis.

R

Pontificem sanctum
sumpsit sibi rex aidanum

doctor aidanus
rex interpretis fit honorus.

v

Dulce fuit regem
per vate videre loquentem. Doctor.

lectio vi

Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosancte crucis hastulas
excidere solent quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines
aut pecudes potaverint. sive asperserint; mox sanitati restituuntur.

R

Regnoque rector
sed egene[.] miserator
furtit opes larga dextra
cum mente benigna.

v

Hanc incorruptam
petit aidanus fove dextram. Cum.

lectio vii

Vocatur autem locus ille hevenfeld quod dici potest latine celestis
campus. Quod utique presagio futurorum antiquitus nomen significant
nimirum quod ibidem celeste erigendum tropheum celestis inchoanda
victoria. celestis usque hodie forent miracula celebrana.

R

Rex anime fortis
cadit hostia matirialis
cesus pro patria
cesa est et prodiga dextra.

v

Integra carne sua
dat dona dei benedicta. Cesa.

lectio viii

Est autem locus ille iuxta murum illum ad aquilonem quo romani
quondam arcendos barbarorum impetus totam amari usque ad mare
precinxere brittaniam.

R

Inclitus oswaldus
aidani bello moribundus
clamat in extremis [um?]
miserere salus animarum.

v

Commendans secundum
spiracula commovientum. Clamat.

[In tertio nocturno]

Ad canticum

De regno terre
translatus in etheris arce
cellior etherea
regnas oswalde corona
suscepit vide[inde?] patrem
quem noverat anglia regem.

cc

Beatus vir qui.

Evangelium

Si quis venit.

R

O felicem locum illum et omni dignum preconio
ubi inclitus rex oswaldus occubuit in prelio.

v

Oblatus est enim domino
ibi viva hostia in sacrificio. In prelio.

R

Pulvis sacer de occasu regio
in accensa pendens domo
ignem depellit deposce suo.

v

Omni consumpta domo
flagrante incendio. Ignem.

R

Sub divo relicto martyri divinitatis non defuit obsequium
columpna enim lucis a corpore ad celum
usque porrecta effulsit ad iacentis meritum.

v

Omnisque ad iacens regio
hoc illustrata est miraculo. Ad.

R

Quam precelsa sunt in celo regii martyris oswaldi premia
de cuius etiam locis membris terra irrigata
fugat demonia et dat salutaria.

v

Regis pro regno christi bellantis
et martyris pro regno christi occumbentis
quanta est corona. De cuius.

Evangelium

Si quis venit

oracio

Omnipotens sempiterne.

In laudibus. a'

Rex oswaldus clarus regali munificencia
fer inquit discum christo clamanti in paupere forma.

a'

Vivat aydanus inquit tua rex dextera
et semper maneat incorrupta.

a'

Sic organum spiritus sancti modulatur pro virum dei
et sic videmus per gratiam christi.

a'

Qual' enim ab scisa est in prelio
talem eius dexteram adhuc clara servat incorruptio.

a'

Non perdidisti rex invicte regnum sed mutasti in melius
regnas enim cum deo in celestibus.

Capitulum

Iustus si morte.

R

Sancte oswalde

Y

Christus fidelis

V

Magna est gloria

In evvangelium

Miserere domine animabus
clamabat optimus rex oswaldus
cadens in terra et in hac oracione suam
deo reddidit animam.

oracio

Omnipotens sempiterene deus qui huius diei iocundam beatamque
leticiam in sancti servi tui oswaldi sollempnitate consecrasti. da
cordibus nostris tui timoris caritatisque augmentum; ut cuius in terris
sancti sanguinis effusionem celebramus. illius in celo collata patrocinia
mentibus senciamus. per.

Ad primam. a'

Rex oswaldus

Ad terciam. a'

Vivat aydanus

capitulum

Iustus si morte.

oracio

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui huius.

Ad sextam. a'

Sic organum

capitulum

Placens deo factus dilectus et vivens inter peccatores translatus est. raptus est ne malicia mutaret intellectum illius aut refectio deciperet animam illius.

oracio

Omnipotens et misericors deus qui nobis preclarum huius diei leticiam pro beati oswaldi regis et martyris tui sollempnitate tribuisti intende serenus vota fidelis populi; et concede ut cuius hodie festa per colimus. eius semper meritis et precibus sublevemur. per.

Ad nonam. a'

Non perdidisti.

capitulum

Consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa placita enim erat deo anima illius. propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatem.

oracio

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui donasti beato oswaldo regi gloriam terrene potestatis in divinum convertere amorem. da nobis quoque eius intermissione in tui nominis amore iugiter permanere. per.

Ad vespervas. a'

Rex quatuor

ps

Dixit dominus

a'

Cumque sederet

ps

Beatus vir

a'

In signo

ps

Laudate pueri

a'

Inter cetera

ps

Credidi pp

capitulum

Iustus si morte

R

Quam precelsa.

Y

Regalis ostro

V

Magna est gloria eius

In evvangelium

Gloriose rex oswalde

vota damus tu attende

tui sumus recognosce

mortem aufer vitam posce

ave quondam rex anglorum

nunc coheres angelorum

placa nobis regem tuum
qui te fecit civem suum.

Dominica infra octava. ad vespervas. a'
Rex regum christe quem flexis genibus
et submisso regni diademate servus tuus oswaldus
amabat iugiter adorare dignare
nostras preces per eius intercessionem et passionem suscipere.

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterne.

(At foot of f.252, added in later hand:

*Si octavo sancti oswaldi in sabbato contigeret. facta est
in apud sabbato commemoracio de sancto oswaldo et nichil
de sancto laurencio.)*

Scep-tri-ger os-wal-de

ce-lo ter-ra-que sa-cra-te

trans ma-re ger-ma-nis

gal-lis ful-ge-scis ab ang-lis

et que-cum-que tu-am

gens poscit o-pem subit am-plam

rex bo-ne pro-pi-ti-um

no-bis re-gem pe-te re-gum

E u o u a e

O-MI

(f. 68^v)

Mar-ti-rum pal-mam

do-mi-no reg-ni-que co-ro-nam

qua mi-cat os wal-dus

re-gi re-gum iu-bi-le-mus

Ve-ni-te

O-MA1

(f. 69)

Handwritten musical score for O-MA1. The first staff contains the lyrics "Rex qua-tu-or gen-ti-um os-wal-dus" with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff contains the lyrics "et christi mi-les e-rat fi-dis-si-mus" with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Below the staves is a vocal line with the lyrics "e u o u a e".

O-MA2

(f. 69)

Handwritten musical score for O-MA2. The first staff contains the lyrics "Cumque se-de-ret quasi rex circumstan-te e-xer-ci-tu" with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff contains the lyrics "e-rat ta-men merenti-um con-so-la-tor" with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Below the staves is a vocal line with the lyrics "e u o u a e".

O-MA3

(f. 69)

In sig—no do-mi—ni—ce cru-cis imma—nes co—pi—as fu—git

que crux re-gis [me]ri—tis innu—me—ras vir—tutes at—tri—bu—it

e u o u a e

O-MA4

(f. 69)

In—ter ce—te—ra de huius cru-cis [m]usco gesta—to in—si—num

sa—na—tum est cu—ius—dam bra—chi—um con—frac—tum

e u o u a e

O-MA5

(f.69)

[E]rat incli-tus rex non so-lum re-li-gi-o-sus de-i cul-tor.
sed et christi — a — ne re li - gi — o - nis [i]n signis pro - pa — ga - tor.

e u o u a e

O-MA6

(f.69)

As-sump-sit si-bi pon-ti-fi-cem sanctum a-i — da-num
et in e — o gen — tes i-do-la-tras convertit ad christum.

e u o u a e

O-MA7

(f. 69^v)

Sic be-a-tus oswal-dus ut qui ce-les-te

non ter-re-num reg-num de-si-d[eri-e]

e u o u a e

O-MA8

(f. 69^v)

Rex prin-ci-pum confrater pau-pe-rum

refu-gi-um af-flicto-rum et pastor e[ccle-si-a]-rum.

e u o u a e

O-MA9

(f. 69^v)

Hunc mar-ty-ri-o sumptum à ce-les-ti-a reg-na

ce-les-ti-a comm[en]dam pro-di-gi-a .

E u o u a e

O-MA 10

(f. 69^v)

In lo-co regis ex-ci-di-o sa-cra-to
 ho-mi-nes et iu-men-ta sa-li-[tur]
 ip-sa ter-ra in muto-rum
 sa-li-te exau-ri-tur.
 e u o u a e

O-MA 11

(f. 69^v)

super san-cti re-li-qui-as per to-t[am] noctem
 co-lumpna lu-cis ef-ful-sit ethe-re-a
 per to-tam pro-vin-ci-am con-spi-cu-a
 e u o u a e

De li-g-no cu-i ca-ran-dum ca-put regis pre-fi-xum e-rat

scolas-ti-cus iam moriturus accepit

et de infer-ni per-i-cu-lo con-va-lu-it

e u o u a e

Re - ge de-o re - gum
 mi-ra- -cu-la dan-te per e- -vum
 os-wal- -di re- -gis
 do-mi-ni da-ta dex- -tra try-um - -phis
 in-cor- -rup- -ta ma- -net
 di-vi-na-que mu - ne-ra pre - -bet
 ✠ Dex-tra fo-vens in- -o-pes
 ce-dens sum-mi pa-tris ho- -stes
 dex-tra re-ci-sa du-cis
 pro gen - te de - i mori-en - tis. In-cor.
 Gb-ri-a pa - tri
 et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i san- -cto.

Rex sa - cer os - - wal - - dus
 se - nas a - ci - es fe - ri - tu - - rus
 spem cru - cis e - - re - xit
 et in hoc sig - - no su - pe - - ra - vit
 ut con - stan - ti - nus
 de ce - lo vin - ce - re doc - tus. spem.

Hec crux os-wal-di
 fu-it u-na su-e re-gi-o-ni
 pri-ma-que cre-den-tis
 chri-sto de-dit hoc du-ce
 gen-tes.
 Hec e-rat e-xem-plum
 di-vi-na tro-phe-a co-len-tum. Pri-ma.

Per cru-cis hu - -ius o — pem

po - pu - li ra - pu - e - -re sa - lu - tem.

con — gau — dent u — na

va — ri — e cla — des me — d — ci — na

Os-wal — di re — — gis

me — ri — tum tot sub-ve-nit e — — gris. con.

Os-wal- -dus chris-ti
 de-vo- -tus ver-nu-la reg-ni
 con-stru-it ec-de -si-as
 dat pre- -di-a
 res dat o-pi-mas.
 * Nascent-tem-que fi-dem
 di-la-tat chris-ti-co-la-rum. con'

pon-ti-fi-cem san-ctum
 sump-sit si-bi rex a-i-da-num
 doc-tor a-i-da-nus
 rex in-ter-pres fit ho-no-rus.

Dul-ce fu-it re-gem
 per va-te vi-de-re lo-quen-tem. Doc-tor.

Reg—no—que rec—tor

sed—e—ne [] mi—se—ra— —tor

fur— —tit o— —pes lar—ga dex— —tra

cum men— —te benig— —na

Hanc in—cor—rup—tam

pe—tit a—i—da—nus fo—re dex—tram. Cum.

Rex a- -ni-me for- -tis
 ca-dit hos-ti-a ma - ti-ri-a - -lis
 ce-sus pro pat- -ri-a
 cae-sa est et pro-diga dex-tra
 In-te-gra car- -ne su - a
 dat do - na de - i be-ne - dic-ta, ce-sa.

In-cli - tus as - - wal - dus

bel - lo mo - ri - - bun - - dus

cla - mat in ex - - tre - - mis

mi - se - re - - re sa - lus

a - ni - ma - - rum

* Com - men - dans se - cu spi - ra - cu - la con - mo - vi - en - - tum. clamat

Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - - o et spi - ri - tu - - i san - cto.

3. OFFICE OF ST EBBA

(Transcribed from Lbl MS Harley 4664, ff.261-263)

In festivitate sancte ebbe virginis. super psalmos. a'
Ave sydus celestis curie
flos et decus ebba brittanie
tuos tuis astantes laudibus
celi tecum adiunge curibus.

In evvangelium
Christe salvator et amator hominum
qui es sponsus et corona virginum
tua quesumus letetur ecclesia
tue ebbe tibi solvens preconia
ut quicumque eius gaudent officio
tuo semper sublevantur auxilio.

ps

Magnificat

[Ad matutinas]

Invitatorium
Adoretur christus rex glorie
qui glorificat ebbam in ethere.

ps

Venite

In primo nocturno. antiphona
Sicut florem nitis in vinea
sic ebbam in stirpe regia
felix produxit brittania.

a'

Ethelfridi regis filia
oswyu soror eximia
et egfridi erat amica.

a'

Clavis exhorta natalibus
mundum fide et formam moribus
et sexum vicit virtutibus.

a'

In urbe triumphans coludi
carne munda et corde simplici
capud dixi contrivit colubri.

a'

Divino conducti federe
et viri simul et femine
sub ea gaudebant vivere.

a'

Puella matrem instancia
et viris patrem constancia
quam mira se dedit gracia.

V

Diffusa est gracia

lectio i

Virgo venerabilis ebba mater ancillarum christi prefuit congregationi sanctarum virginum in loco quem coludi urbem nuncupant. hec a primeva etate divino mancipata servicio. nobilitatem generis fidei prudencie morum ingenuitate venustabat. Erat enim soror uterina nobilis simi(?) regis oswiu qui sanctissimo regi et martyri oswaldo successit in regnum. amita quoque nobilissimi et deo devoti regis Agfridi quorum temporibus plus sanctitate vite et virtutum gloria quam generis nobilitate enituit. a deo ut quasi mater regni et decus tante nobilitatis universis pene brittanie finibus innotesceret et fama sanctitatis et industria virtutis.

R

Etheldridam instruxit sedula
que nupta et sine macula
veluta regali copula
ebbe facta est discipula.

v

Labori commutans ocia
claustro regnum et duris mollia. ebbe.

lectio ii

Nam ipsius magisterio virgo illa nobilis et prudens etheldrida Agfridi quondam in regno quidem comes et regina. sed virgo intacta; regni cura et sollicitudine seposita lecti regalis societate contempta; vite spiritualis rudimentis imbuenda traditur. ut tante mag^{re} sanctitatis successor et heres fieret. Quante viro circo subiector sibi que commissos sollicitudinis quante industrie civam egerit in hoc facile patebit quod sanctorum quorumlibet presenciam semper affectabat; quorum doctrinis et exemplis instrui congregacio posset sibi comissa. hic est quod sanctissimus pater cuthbertus et merito conversacionis eius et admonicionis sedulitate invitatus ad monasterium ipsius venire; et tam verbo quam exemplo quoslibet instruere solebat.

R

Dum quidam nolentem nubere
raptu mollitur opprimere
latenti maris confinium
triduo dedit presidium.

v

Contra tyrannum superbiens
et montem undis premuniens. triduo.

lectio iii

Erat enim tunc prepositus monasterii mailrossensis et ex locorum in civitate oportunitatem nactus sepius venerabilis et sanctissime virginis ebbe monasterium in visere et tam corporis presenciam quam signor magnificencia presentes quoque letificare. vel magis edificare solebat sicut in vita ipsius sanctissimi patris legitur. Beatissimo viro cuthberto alias occupato nam in lindisfarnensi monasterium translatus et postmodum de anachoresi ad ep'atum est sublimatus quia messis quidem multa operarii viro pauci erant. ceperunt quidam in predicto monasterio a tradito si regularis vite t'mite exorbitare spretisque

tante virginis monitis; vite remissioris illecebris intendere. unde merito loco et hintatoribus eius g'ius de celo vindica post mortem abbatisse sanctissime preparata est; in ulcionem videlicet transgressionis et conceptus sancti ordinis et tante mag^{re} cuius mores et virtutes intuentes contemptui magis habere quam imitari solebant.

R

Sanctorum ebba frequenciam
optabat ob verbi gratiam
que exemplis et monitis
formam dabat sibi subditis.

v

Preclaris per orbem titulis
ex multis effulsit meritis. Que.

lectio iv

Nec latere potuit ancillam christi tante animadversionis ulcio. Ad exemplum enim magni illius patriarche abrahe que factura erat severitas superna revelare dignata est auribus ancille sue cuius meritis ascribendum est. quod tante animadversionis ulcio dilata est usque post obitum virginis sanctissime sicut et cuidam viro religioso adampano nomine celicus ostensum legitur. Idem namque adampanus de natione scottorum oriundus vitam et continencia et oracionibus multum devotam ducebat. ita ut nichil numquam cybi vel potus excepto die dominico et quanta sabbati perciperet sepe autem noctes integras pervigil in oracione transsigeret.

R

Cuthbertus ebbam precipuo
amore complectens assiduo
subiectos sibi instruere
et hanc gaudebat in visere.

v

Licet ut virus consorcia
devitaret muliebria. Et hanc.

In secundo nocturno. a'

Contempnens mundi gloriam
per carnis continenciam
virgo se dedit hostiam.

a'

Ut paradisi effloruit
sic ille locus enituit
dum vita sanctorum claruit.

a'

In vidit serpens successibus
et premis nocendi actibus
venenum infudit mercibus.

a'

Sicut eva virum exuit
sic forma viros destituit
et stellas inlictum eruit.

a'

Dum ita luderet furia
hec hostis inter illudia
ebbam latebat in viria.

a'

O felix mater domina
funde pro nobis precamina
et nostra t'ge peccamina.

V

Specie tua et pl'

lectio v

Quod dum multo tempore in monasterio beate ebbe virginis sedulus exequeretur. contigit die quadam de monasterio illo egressum; comitante secum uno ex fratribus peracto itinere redire. Qui cum monasterio appropinquarent; et edificia sublimiter erecta conspicerent. solutus est in lacrimas vir dei et tristitiam cordis vultu indice prodebat. Quod intuens comes. quare hoc faceret inquisivit. At ille. cuncta inquit hec que cernis edificia publica vel privata in proximo

est ut ignis absumens in cinerem convertat. Quod ille audiens. matri congregacionis sanctissime ebba curavit indicare.

R

Adampnanus noctu fletibus
in stratu vacans et precibus
celesti accepit nuncio
de loci huius excidio.

v

Ostensi est ei visio
crudeli nota presagio. De.

lectio vi

At illa mirito turbata de tali presagio vocavit ad se virum dei. et diligentius ab eo rem vel unde hoc nossus inquirebat. Qui ait. Nuper occupatus noctu vigiliis et psalmis; vidi astantem mihi subito quendam incognit vultus. cuius presencia cum essem exteritus. dixit mihi ne timorens et quasi familiari me voce alloquens. benefacis inquit. qui tempore isto nocturne quietis non sompno ingulgere sed vigiliis et oracionibus insistere maluisti. At ego novi in quam mihi multum esse noctem vigiliis salutaribus insistere et pro meis erratibus sedulo dominum deprecari.

R

Revelabat ebbe postea
peritura flammis omnia
sed id habebat solacii
ipsa iuvente non fieri.

v

Tanti quippe erat meriti
quod possent casus tam miseri.

lectio vii

Qui adiciens verum inquit dicis. quia tibi et multis opus est peccata sua bonis operibus redimere et cum cessant a laboribus verum temporalium tunc pro appetitu eternorum bonorum liberius laborare. sed cum hoc paucissimi faciunt. siquidem meo totum hoc monasterium

ex ordine per lustrans singulorum casas ac lectos in spexi et neminem ex omnibus preter te ergo sanitatem anime sue occupatum repperi. sed omnes prorsus viri et femine aut sompno torpent inani. aut ad peccata vigilant. Nam et domuncule que adorandum vel legendum facte erant nunc in conversacionum potacionum. fabulacionum et ceterarum sunt illecebrarum cubilia converse. virgines quoque deo dicte contempta reverencia sue professionis quocienscumque vacant texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dant; quibus aut se ipsas ad vicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent. aut externorum sibi virorum amicitiam comperent. Unde merito loco huic et habitatoribus eius. gravis de celo vindicta flammis sevientibus preparata est.

R

Hiis virgo verbis admonita
corda pavore per terita
ad primos actus erigere
salubri in stabat opere.

v

Celestem iram repellere
et vires hostis reprimere. salubri.

lectio viii

Dixit autem abbatissa. Et quare hoc non citius compartum mihi revelare voluisti; Qui respondit. Timui propter tibi reverenciam tuam; ne forte nimium curbareris. Et tamen hanc consolacionem habes quod in diebus tuis hec plaga non superveniet. Nimirum sicut quondam beato benedicto monasteriorum subversio divinitus ostensa est. sic in consolacionem ancille sue dominus ei per servum suum ventura revelare dignatus est. Nam manifestata visione industria et exemplis beate magistre aliquantulum loci accole paucis diebus timere et se ipsos castigare ceperunt. Verum post obitum venerabilis abbatisse redierunt ad pristinas sordes; immo sceleraciora fecerunt. et cum dicerent pax et securitas. extimplo prefate ulcionis sunt pena multati. Ostenditur autem locus oratorii beate ebbe super montem qui goldisburg dicitur. quondam edificiorum sublimitate preclarus nunc in solitudinis planitiem conversus. Transiit autem beata ebba temporibus Agfridi regis. cuius mausoleum post multa tempora a pastoribus

inventum est. et a fidelibus in ecclesiam sancte marie de coldingham translatum et ad australem partem altaris positum ubi crebra miracula facta divinitus per cipimus et nostris quoque temporibus vidimus ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri ihesu christi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum AMEN.

R

Salvatoris christi famula
post huius vite curricula
felix perceptura brevium
ad regni venit pallacium.

v

Relinquens terre corpusculum
et inferens celo spiritum.

Ad canticum. a'

Sicut rosa super aquarum rivulos
virtutum ebba profudit flosculos
et sicut sponsus sponsatam movibus
sic ebbam dominus ornat virtutibus.

evvangelium

Simile est regnum celorum decem virginibus.

R

Post mortem martyris ad pristina
reversi sunt flagicia
quos truci statim incendio
divina consumpsit ulcio.

v

Olim loth egresso sodomam
sic post ebbam plebem pessimam. Divina.

R

Quam mira quam laudabilia
sunt tua christe magnalia
qui tue ebbe preconia

dicas multiformi gracia.

v

Fugantur enim demonia
et egris dantur subsidia. Multi.

R

O virgo prudens et inclita
quam tanta decorant merita
veniam nobis pro crimine
apud christum supplex optine

v

Ut mereamur in ethere
cum sanctis tecum convivere. Apud.

R

De nocte seculi carnis ecarcere
prudentis et vigilans et pulcra facie
accensa lampade conscendit libere
ad sponsi thalamum ad tronum graciae.

v

Que pro peccatis hominum
intercedat ad dominum. Ad tronum.

In laudibus. a'

Gratuletur pia mater ecclesia
superni regis collaudans magnalia
in sue virginis sacra memoria.

a'

Egrotis exhibens salutis opera
que dum viveret in hac carne tenera
super afflictos pia gessit viscera.

a'

Contritos erigit os multis aperit
cetos illuminat larvas excriminat
et lesoque reperat et clausis reserat.

a'

Benedicat ebba dominum

ebbam exaltet os hominum
que lucet in choro virginum
non lucis hebit criminum.

a'

Quam laudabilia virginis premia
cuius memoria dat beneficia(buficia?)
mestis est leticia
salus cunctis et gloria.

[In evvangelium] a'

Benedictus deus israel dominus
exalto oriens quem nescit criminus
qui ebbe vitam lucifluam
et lucem dedit perpetuam.

ps

Benedictus

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